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THE

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY

AND

GENERAL REVIEW.

THOMAS B. THAYER, Editor.

NEW SERIES.—VOLUME V.

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tray by it, so that, to use the words of the immortal Bacon, "although we think we govern them, yet certain it is that words, as a Tartar's bow, do shoot back upon the understanding of the wisest and mightily entangle and pervert the judgment. So that it is almost necessary in all controversies and disputations to imitate the wisdom of the mathematicians, in setting down in the very beginning the definitions of our words and terms, that we may know how we accept and understand them, and whether they concur with us or no." But the trouble does not cease here. These definitions themselves are misapplied and misunderstood, so that the parties are no nearer to each other than when they first came together, and sometimes are even farther apart.

Dr. Bushnell, also, in his "Preliminary Dissertation on the Nature of Language as related to Thought and Spirit," says of it: "In the use or abuse of this instrument, a great part of our religious difficulties have their spring. We have misconceived, it seems to me, both its nature and capacities, and our moral reasonings are, to just the same extent infected with error." [1]

As so many theologians, philosophers and others, by common acknowledgement, are liable to be led away in the use of this instrument, we have thought proper to look at some of the sources of error in its use and point out its great uncertainty as a medium for communicating spiritual truth.

Language is human and consequently fallible like all other things pertaining to man. Whatever view we may take of the origin of language, we cannot suppose that our Creator arbitrarily put words into the mouths of his children and compelled them to use them. Our first parents were formed with physical organs capable of articulating words and with intelligence requisite for understanding them. Here the Creator's work ended and man's began. They generated ideas and expressed them with their vocal organs as they pleased. It matters not what language they used when they first began to converse with each other. The words which they used were

[1] Bushnell's "God in Christ," p. 12.

arbitrary and such as they formed for the expression of their thoughts. The primitive speech was thus formed by men and all the additions which have since been made are of the same character. We have only to consider that different words, totally distinct from one another, in different languages, are applied to the same object, as *kuon*, Greek, *canis*, Latin, for dog; *selene*, *luna*, moon, *kalos*, beautiful, in order to be convinced of the arbitrary application of words used to express definite objects. And the fact that the same word, phonetically modified to adapt it to the analogies of the language in which it is domiciliated, is used through a series of cognate languages, as the Greek *nux*, Latin *nox*, German *nacht*, Russian *noch*, Sanscrit *nischa*, French *nuit*, Anglo-Saxon *niht*. English, night, to express the same object, does not invalidate this position. For in instances of this kind, we may suppose the original word to have been arbitrarily applied, or selected in preference to another word, from its resemblance to some quality of the object named, and the words of the other languages simply derived from this. In either case the human being who named the object of his sense or intelligence, selected the name himself and did not receive it directly from his Creator.

Words, then, we must regard as the arbitrary creation of man as he needed them for the time being to communicate his emotions and thoughts, and as such, subject to all the imperfections pertaining to other products of the human mind. They constitute an imperfect medium by means of which thought is expressed, and as this medium, like glass that transmits the rays of light, is often distorted or colored or otherwise impaired, so it impairs the thoughts that are transmitted through it. It is not necessary to regard the thoughts as corrupted while the medium is imperfect. We may believe the truths of revelation as coming from the great Source of all truth and still admit that they are presented to us through fallible symbols and hence liable to be imperfectly or wrongfully apprehended by us.

This is a prolific source of error which should not be lost sight of while we are investigating religious truth. We may

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This is a prolific source of error which should not be lost sight of while we are investigating religious truth. We may

exclaim against it, and protest that language is designed to convey thought correctly and if it fails to do this, it fails to this extent to perform its legitimate work. But we must bear in mind that all things human, or lying within the scope of human apprehension, are equally fallible and liable to give us erroneous views. This suggests the duty of diligence and earnestness and critical study on our part. In this manner our intellectual powers will be vigorously called into exercise and a positive benefit accrue to us. But however we may explain its injurious or beneficial influence upon us, the fact remains indisputable. God has made it so and we must bear with it as we may. And to know that we are liable to be led into error by the nature of the medium through which thought is conveyed to us, prepares us to correct the tendency and avoid the danger before we fall into it.

Again, the danger lies not wholly in the medium itself, but in its surroundings. After man invented language, he perverted it and made it teach different lessons to different persons. But this may not have been designed on his part; it is something that results almost inevitably from the relations between man's thought, and the medium by which he expresses his thought. Let us examine some of these relations.

Words were originally applied to material objects. This is a fact sufficiently established and generally admitted by linguists and philosophers. We cannot always trace back the word now used to express a moral idea to its material source. The links of connection have rusted out or been covered up by the rubbish of ages. But this does not invalidate the general statement. Men were physical before they were spiritual and were forced to deal with physical agencies chiefly. If we examine the terms used in the expression of mental or moral truths, we shall generally be able to discern their primitive material application. *Attentive* means a stretching to; *assiduous*, a sitting down to; *association*, furnishing a companion for; *diversion*, a turning away from; *transport*, bearing across; *rapture*, a seizing or snatching; *hope*, from the Anglo-Saxon *hoppan*, to hop, means a leaping forth towards an object of de-

sire; while *expectation* means looking for an object, whether good or bad; *respectable*, an object worthy of being looked back upon; *circumstance*, a standing around; *acumen*, sharpness, as of a needle; *humble*, lying on the ground; *definition*, making out the boundary of a thing. [2]

While words then have a primitive application to material objects, they do not rest there. From the material, they rise to a spiritual application. And the former meaning is a type of the latter. Hence the literal and figurative use of language, the latter always arising out of the former, and its character being determined by it. "Every language contains two distinct departments;—the physical department that which provides names for things; and the intellectual department—that which provides names for thought and spirit. In the former, names are simple representations of things, which even the animals may learn. In the latter, the names of things are used as representatives of thought, and cannot, therefore, be learned save by beings of intelligence (*intus lego* to read within) that is, beings who can read an inner sense, or receive the inner contents of words, beings in whom the Logos of the creation finds a corresponding logos, or reason, to receive and employ the types it offers, in their true power. [2]

This view of the origin of figurative language some ignore, especially when it militates against their favorite notions. Take the Bible as it reads, say they, and not allegorize and spiritualize it away. They recognize not the inner, but only the outer Logos. This a prolific source of error.

Let us take any of those terms originally applied to physical objects and trace them back from their spiritual application to their first use and rest there, and we shall fall into grievous mistakes. To be sure a trace of their primitive significance is generally detectable in all stages of their changes and this aids us in ascertaining their present meaning. But if we fasten upon their material application and refuse to trace their his-

[1] See this subject treated in the UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, Oct. 1866, pp. 470–3 where an additional number of illustrations is given.

[2] Dr. Bushnell's "God in Christ," Prelim. Dissert, p. 24.

seemed to think that by calling evil good, they could make it so. It is from similar motives of superstition that we call Friday an unlucky day, and think seeing the new moon over our left shoulder is a bad omen, while seeing it over our right shoulder is a good omen. So the ancients called *sinister*, on the left, unlucky, but *dexter*, on the right, propitious, which words still retain these senses respectively in our language.

That the associations, good and bad, which we connect with names are prolific sources of error, we must acknowledge. They preclude the possibility of arriving at exact or uniform truth through the medium of language. They do not cut off all hope of ever reaching the truth or make us as liable to receive error as truth, as Dr. Bushnell seems to acknowledge when he says: "Indeed, it (i. e. language) is such an instrument that I do not see how any one who rightly conceives its nature, can hope any longer to produce in it a real and proper system of dogmatic truth. He will doubt the capacity of language to serve any such purpose. He will also suspect that our logical or deductive processes under it, are more likely, in general, to be false than true."[7] According to this we should despair of ever using language in religious matters so as to make ourselves understood by others. Indeed Dr. Bushnell himself may give only error in this statement, for it is "more likely to be false than true." The presumption surely is that he is teaching error. To be consistent he must "doubt that he doubts." If language can be thus made to play true, or play false, as it suits the taste of the writer, Dr. Bushnell's statement is not so very inconsistent as it seems, when he is reported as expressing his readiness to accept all the Orthodox creeds in Christendom, if he could have the privilege of giving his own interpretation of them.

All that we mean by our position is, that language, like all things else invented or moulded or modified by man, is fallible and liable to lead us astray when applied to the elucidation of moral truth, without the utmost vigilance and care on our part. Owing to historical or personal associations con-

[7] "God in Christ," Prelim. Essay, p. 12.

nected with them, words and phrases are not fitted always to convey the same definite and identical idea to all men who use or hear them as in their application to mathematical truth. All who are capable of understanding scientific truth have the same idea of a circle, a point, a line, a square or a triangle. But moral ideas are not susceptible of being so strictly defined that we cannot err in our apprehension of them. This is what we mean when we say that no two persons can have exactly the same idea of an object seen by the inner vision, unless the circles of their world of associated thought and emotion are coincident. And as this is improbable, if not impossible, the presumption is that they will differ in their conception of the idea as expressed by words. And if this is true of any two persons, how much more of a large number? The members of a church all put their names to a written creed expressed in the same terms, but as they do not all attach the same extent and quality of meaning to these terms they must differ essentially in regard to their views of it. They do not really hold to the same creed. Diversity of temperament, education, different degrees of mental and moral development, previous associations, habits of thought, modes of living, inner experience, outward influences, operate on their minds and effect their understanding and interpretation of their creeds. How different must have been the views of the Gentile converts to the Jewish faith, from those entertained by the Jews who had grown up from infancy in that faith! How different the conceptions of religious truth, as a theory, or a life, existing in the minds of the newly-made convert who has spent his life in reviling God, Christ, and sacred things, from those of the man who was taught from his childhood to love God and respect the institutions and requirements of religion! How heaven-wide the contrast between the ignorant and undeveloped intellect, and that of refined and generous culture, in their views of Christian truth, though both subscribe to the same articles of faith!

This is the reason why such gross errors have crept into the Christian Church and remained to curse it. This, too, will

serve to account for the slow progress which "the truth as it is in Jesus" has made among communities and nations in past ages. Says Dr. Thorm, in his Essays on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians, in answer to the question, "Why does not Christianity work greater and more instant effects?" We forget that Christianity can get into a man's soul only through the existing sympathies and affinities he may happen to have with it; and that it exercises a moral power only through the love and free will of every heart. Now the Corinthian, though drawn to the Gospel by some secret and powerful sympathy, would not on the instant cease to be the man he had been; he was not prepared to forget in a moment his favorite philosophy or to renounce at once his former indulgences; and the tendency would rather be to engraft, as far as possible, his old ideas and usages on the new and healthy stock of Christianity than to find for it immediately, a clear admission into an empty bosom." (pp. 9–10.) Engrafting "old ideas and usages on the new and healthy stock of Christianity" has played immense mischief in the Christian Church in all stages of its growth. The true Christian faith as it existed in the minds of the original Teacher and his disciples has been so distorted and mutilated that scarcely a trace of it can be discovered in some minds and some sects that still profess to be Christian. As it came in contact with Jewish traditions and Pagan superstitions, Medieval ignorance and Popish corruption and Protestant bigotry, its celestial linaments were defaced and it appeared in an abnormal character. The Gospel of love was changed into a dispensation of hate. The doctrine of damnation took the place of salvation. The words of eternal life were changed into those of eternal death. Henceforth appeared the errors of Total Depravity, Vicarious Atonement, the Trinity, Election and Reprobation, and Endless Misery.

These doctrines came into the Christian Church through the perversion of human Speech, and they will not be removed therefrom until we get rid of the historical errors, personal prejudices and wrong associations connected with the terms employed to express them; until we pass over from the false

symbol to the true idea. It seems as if the whole Christian world almost had united (unconsciously, of course,) through this agency to lead men astray. By means of this all have been put upon the wrong track. From the early days of the Christian Church, down through the middle ages when ignorance, corruption and superstition prevailed, has this deteriorating process been going on. Instead of honestly endeavoring to get at the identical thought of Jesus and his Apostles, men have emptied the words and phrases which they used, of their primitive signification, and surrounded them with sensuous and mystical associations and thus invested them with an atmosphere of error and sent them forth to entice and lead astray, rather than reclaim and redeem. The spirit which maketh alive has been lost sight of, and the letter which killeth has been retained. The true faith has been buried amid a mass of rubbish which the ages have accumulated, and error, consecrated by time. has been substituted in its place.

Let us now apply the results of our investigations to some of the elements that constitute the "Creed of Christendom."

It is worthy of attention that a few significant and striking terms oftentimes give character to a system of faith, as Election, Reprobation, Depravity, Salvation, Damnation, Orthodoxy, Evangelical, Universal Grace, Eternal Life. These terms, blended with others peculiar to the sect, are invested with all the prejudices pertaining to it. Thus it acquires a nomenclature by which it can always be distinguished from other sects. Gradually the novel emotions with which this was at first received wear off and the set phrases are still used with a change of meaning, or without meaning. But generally the gilded decorations which the imagination has thrown around them, still remain, and delude the mind with their false show. These phrases give character to the sect and emphasize and perpetuate the errors which it may have incorporated into its faith. Let us illustrate. The religious phraseology of the age is, in many instances, wrong in its etymological, or derived, meaning, and necessarily leads the mind astray, if it is literally received; as "getting religion," suggesting an

serve to account for the slow progress which "the truth as it is in Jesus" has made among communities and nations in past ages. Says Dr. Thorm, in his Essays on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians, in answer to the question, "Why does not Christianity work greater and more instant effects?" We forget that Christianity can get into a man's soul only through the existing sympathies and affinities he may happen to have with it; and that it exercises a moral power only through the love and free will of every heart. Now the Corinthian, though drawn to the Gospel by some secret and powerful sympathy, would not on the instant cease to be the man he had been; he was not prepared to forget in a moment his favorite philosophy or to renounce at once his former indulgences; and the tendency would rather be to engraft, as far as possible, his old ideas and usages on the new and healthy stock of Christianity than to find for it immediately, a clear admission into an empty bosom." (pp. 9–10.) Engrafting "old ideas and usages on the new and healthy stock of Christianity" has played immense mischief in the Christian Church in all stages of its growth. The true Christian faith as it existed in the minds of the original Teacher and his disciples has been so distorted and mutilated that scarcely a trace of it can be discovered in some minds and some sects that still profess to be Christian. As it came in contact with Jewish traditions and Pagan superstitions, Medieval ignorance and Popish corruption and Protestant bigotry, its celestial linaments were defaced and it appeared in an abnormal character. The Gospel of love was changed into a dispensation of hate. The doctrine of damnation took the place of salvation. The words of eternal life were changed into those of eternal death. Henceforth appeared the errors of Total Depravity, Vicarious Atonement, the Trinity, Election and Reprobation, and Endless Misery.

These doctrines came into the Christian Church through the perversion of human Speech, and they will not be removed therefrom until we get rid of the historical errors, personal prejudices and wrong associations connected with the terms employed to express them; until we pass over from the false

symbol to the true idea. It seems as if the whole Christian world almost had united (unconsciously, of course,) through this agency to lead men astray. By means of this all have been put upon the wrong track. From the early days of the Christian Church, down through the middle ages when ignorance, corruption and superstition prevailed, has this deteriorating process been going on. Instead of honestly endeavoring to get at the identical thought of Jesus and his Apostles, men have emptied the words and phrases which they used, of their primitive signification, and surrounded them with sensuous and mystical associations and thus invested them with an atmosphere of error and sent them forth to entice and lead astray, rather than reclaim and redeem. The spirit which maketh alive has been lost sight of, and the letter which killeth has been retained. The true faith has been buried amid a mass of rubbish which the ages have accumulated, and error, consecrated by time. has been substituted in its place.

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outward source whence it is obtained, rather than calling attention to the inward process, or movement of the soul, in which it consists; "obtaining a hope," as if all men are not creatures, or "prisoners of hope," naturally. Men are exhorted to love God as if love were a voluntary sentiment, and did not spring up involuntarily in the heart whenever its object is presented in a lovable character. Much of the language used by the religious teachers of the day is suggested by false doctrines. This practice is noticed and regretted by philologists. Says Bartlett, "the greatest injury to our language arises from the perversion of legitimate words and the invention of hybrid and other inadmissible expressions by educated men, and particularly by the clergy." After speaking of the perversions of our language by politicians, he adds, "So with religious sects; each new-fangled notion brings into existence some addition to our language, though that addition is not always an improvement." [8]

The Biblical terms which are used to indicate the condition, character and conversion of sinners, are often tinged with theological prejudice. Sinners are wholly bad, saints are wholly good, which excludes degrees of sinfulness and righteousness, obliterating matter-of-fact, common sense distinctions, which the world, in its every-day talk, unhesitatingly admits. Salvation, according to the popular theology, means a miraculous deliverance from the torments of an eternal hell in the future world while damnation means the sinner's sentence to this place. We look in vain for any such meaning of these words as used in the Bible. The sacred writers allude to salvation from some physical evil and from sin, but not from just punishment or from endless torments. And the word *damnation*, derived from the Latin *damnum*, loss or damage, is equivalent to "condemnation." With this explanation, how different the feelings with which we hear pronounced that famous passage: "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned," from those awakened in the minds of persons who have been educated in a Partialist Theology.

[8] Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms. Introd. p. xxi. and Pref. p. xi.

The phrase "eternal life" is associated in some minds exclusively with the blessedness of the future world, and as our Savior in Matt. xxv: 46, places this in contrast with "everlasting punishment," they tell us that if the latter phrase is limited in its meaning, the former must be also; and thus we take away the hope of the believer in a future state of immortal felicity. But we turn to the definition of this phrase as given by Jesus in John xvii: 3. "And this is life eternal that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent," and by this means we show that their view is not tenable; that both phrases are to be applied to the condition of the saint and the sinner in this world, and thus we take away one of the chief supports of endless misery. But even converts from Orthodoxy to Universalism, still retaining their old associations connected with this term, unconsciously apply it to the future life of the blessed and thus aid in disseminating and perpetuating the popular error. So difficult it is to eradicate early impressions, and divest our minds of the old shades of ideas clustering around our common forms of speech!

Take the doctrine of the "Atonement" as another illustration. The Scriptural idea is simple and easily comprehended. Man sins, not because all his instincts and thoughts are evil, but because he is drawn away of his own lust, or desire, and enticed, "Then, when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death," (James i. 14, 15.) not endless death, but death to holiness and peace, "death, the wages of sin." God took measures, not to cast off forever his children who had sinned, but to reclaim them. It was love that prompted him to do this. "God so loved the world that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him might not perish but have everlasting life." (John iii. 17.) This is the simple view of the Scriptures. But how have religious teachers darkened the counsels of the Almighty by their vain imaginings and words without knowledge! "The mythology of the Atonement is indeed a marvellous thing to contemplate. The celestial council-chamber,

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where the fate of humanity is under discussion; the self-consecration of the divine Son; the virgin birth and incarnation; the altar-cross, whose beams never grew in forest, nor were reared by mortal hands, standing ghastly and lurid in the centre of the earth; the victim 'slain before the foundation of the world,' bearing the agonies of a cursed and hell-doomed race, and pouring from his gaping side streams of blood to wash away the sins of generations steeped in guilt; the howling fiends sweeping away discomfitted on their black wing; the earthquake; the darkness of night miraculously shrouding the anguish of a dying God; the spotted sword, the satisfied justice; the heaving hell moving to meet the Deliverer at his coming; the gate of heaven swinging open at its hinges,—certainly furnishing the elements of a most impressive drama. Never did the poetic faculty take bolder flight. We might admire it, if we were not perpetually reminded of the fact, that this drama is read as if it were a plain historical narrative; that this highly wrought poetic fiction is accepted by millions as the most literal prose; that this work of an unchastened and semi-barbarous imagination is pointed at as a solid structure built up out of eternal verities. How few now understand what the great truth was which ages have decked out with such gorgeous phantasmagoria! How few will recognize it when it is presented to them! *The symbol has become the tomb of the idea.* To accept the emblem is faith; to break the emblem and cleave simply to the truth behind it is infidelity. Christendom adores a painted canvas." [9] Not in the doctrine of the Atonement only, but in many other doctrines of the Orthodox Church has the idea been lost in the symbol, and we must, with the brave old spirit of the iconoclasts, break this to get at the genuine truth.

The word "God" means "good" and this expresses the exact Gospel idea of the Creator and Ruler of the universe. "God is love," God is our Heavenly Father. We should receive these terms in their broadest signification. We join issue with the poet Young and fearlessly assert that "A God

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all mercy " is not " a God unjust." His goodness is compatible with his justice and all his other attributes. And we call him good not in an abstract sense, but because " he doeth good continually " and " his tender mercies are over all his works," and he says that " he will not cast off forever." His goodness is not a passive, but an active quality of his being. This is an idea that we should ever connect with our Heavenly Father, and we cannot ignore it without falling into grievous errors.

But this idea has been ignored in the theology of the past and in much of the theology of the present. God has been represented as manifesting towards his children a spirit utterly inconsistent with his character as portrayed by the Biblical writers. And while this latter class who thus represent God, differ wholly from the Universalist in his idea, they do not agree among themselves. The Calvinist regards him as a stern and unrelenting Judge endowed with all power, while he mingles with this conception different degrees of love which modify somewhat the general estimate of his character. On the other hand, the Arminian " limits the Holy One of Israel," conceiving him as being only a little higher than man, anxiously desiring to save all men, but unable to subdue the stubborn heart, beholding the sinner rushing on to swift destruction, but impotent to avert his impending doom. Strange as it may seem, both classes stoutly protest that they believe in the divine Sovereignty and man's freedom and his ability to act as he chooses, and that they have as much faith in God's love as the Universalist. Surely this is perverting language so far that it ceases to convey a definite or accurate idea, unless we are prepared to call light, darkness, and darkness, light.

Again what confusion in the minds of men attends the introduction of the word " Trinity " as applied to God. Theophilus first used the Greek word τριάς, but not in the ecclesiastical sense, applying it to the trio, God, Wisdom and the Word. Tertullius introduced the corresponding Latin word *Trinitas*, in the third century, applying it to the " one Divinity." [10] Or-

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formed upwards of two years. Our congregation, I think I have already told you, are not rich in this world's goods; yet they wish this lad may, by his musical abilities, maintain himself. They therefore hit on the expedient of having a concert of vocal and instrumental (sacred) music, admittance by tickets, 2s. 3d. each. On this occasion Mrs. Murray was solicited to write an ode. I seconded the solicitation. She told me she was at a loss to know in what manner she should write it. I was that moment obliged to go out, and, as I passed the street where I was going, I composed in my mind the following verse, and on my return wrote, and gave it as her model:

O come, Divine Benevolence,
Thy sacred influence dispense,
And give each heart to know
The tender, kind, endearing tie,
Which draws the scattered kindred nigh,
And dissipates their woe.

"Well, then," said she, "write it yourself." "No, my dear," said I, "you know I have neither time nor talents." I left town the next morning for Providence, forty-five miles from hence. Mrs. Murray had visitors; her niece was under Doctor's hands, very sick; her servant gone from home. Thus circumstanced, her labors of mind and body were so multiplied that I despaired of her being able to do anything in the way I requested. On my return from Providence, however, on opening a drawer I found the enclosed, and confess I was pleased. The master who taught the youth set it to music, and it was well performed as a most pleasing part of the concert. I will endeavor to get you the music also. There were tickets enough sold to raise for the lad, besides paying the expenses, £50 of our money. [$225.] A dollar with us is 4s. 6d.

I find it rather difficult to avoid communicating to my friend my pains of mind and body, as well as my pleasures; and many of these, God knows, I have, and many of these I confess, I had a right to expect. It was to such as your friend, in an especial manner, our blessed Master spake when he said, In the world you shall have tribulation. I have had a considerable share of this. I cannot say I *have had* my share, for then should I have no more. From these vexatious matters I endeavor to turn away, and walk by faith. I endeavor to look forward to the rest that remaineth. There only I shall find rest: there only I ought to expect it: there only I am encouraged to find it: there I am confident I shall have it. I know in whom I have believed. *He* is faithful that has prom-

igen and others of the Christian Fathers professed to receive the doctrine of the Trinity, yet they still believed that the Son was subordinate to the Father and that we should not address our prayers to the former; and he does not seem to apply the word "person" to the Holy Spirit, but regards it rather as an emanation of the Father. Yet Origen was considered a good Trinitarian, but not in the modern sense of the word. Indeed the Trinitarian of the third century and the Trinitarian of the nineteenth century would hardly be regarded as belonging to the same class, or sect.

No doctrine seems more plainly taught than that of the divine Unity. Yet religionists have thrown around the idea of "one God" such strange and mystic associations as to cover up the idea of his unity and invest him in the totally inconceivable character of a "triune" Being. And if we attempt to pray to this Being, our mind becomes confused and distracted and knows not where to rest, having the conception of three Gods and rushing from one to the other in its vain efforts to make supplication. Such is the absurdity into which the Christian world has run from the simple faith of God as a Unity.

We might illustrate our subject by reference to the word "sin," simple enough, it would seem, in its meaning, especially as the Apostle has given us a definition of it. "Sin is the transgression of the law." (1 John iii. 4.) But we have associated with it so much of our theological prejudices and prepossessions that we differ essentially in our conceptions of it. The peculiar spiritual experience of each individual determines his view of it. We are led astray by the materialistic emblems used to describe its operations and relation to man and God. We discuss whether it is an act or a state; we confound it with sinfulness; we mistake its results for itself and are thus led into the belief that God forgives punishment rather than sin itself. We make it synonymous with rebellion and talk about the "sin of ignorance" and "original sin" as if the transgression of moral law could be otherwise than voluntary or we could violate such a law before we

reach the years of intelligence and discretion. So we dispute because we differ as to what the word itself means.

But we forbear. Endless is the number of illustrations of our theme that might be drawn from every department of theology. Every word and phrase used is susceptible of different shades of meaning as viewed by minds that have been subject to different influences and surrounded by different associations. Our subject suggests great care on the part of every one who enters upon the investigation of religious truth, and toleration and charity towards those who entertain opinions different from our own.

ARTICLE II.

John Murray.

PART SECOND.

WE continue our quotations from Mr. Murray's letters.

VIII.

The sheet with which the following was sent is missing. By an endorsement it appears to have been written December 15, 1794.

P. S. I enclose you, my loved friends, a Funeral Sermon delivered by the President of Rhode Island College, on the death of the late President. One of the first principles on which *this* college is founded is, that the *President, forever*, shall be a Baptist. This President was brought up in this college, is a member of the Baptist Church, was ordained the minister thereof, is a very extraordinary man, is much famed for his piety and learning. But for some time past they have suspected him. They have thought him tainted with heresy; and on the delivery of this sermon, the fears of his clerical brethren and the members of his church could be suppressed no longer. They took for granted that he believed with his heart the part of his sermon I have marked, and on his not denying the charge they could not again hear him with comfort. He

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is no more their minister! The Trustees of [the College,] however, cannot think of parting with him, and with much to keep him in his present character, even though he should believe in his heart the restitution of all things. It is true, they own it is a very dangerous error to believe that every part of human nature shall be finally saved from sin, and sorrow, the sad consequence thereof. But then as he is really a *very* pious man, and a VERY learned man, they pray he may continue. But, his constitution being very infirm, he thinks it will be much for his advantage to travel, and has therefore prayed them to furnish themselves with a President before the expiration of the year. You will give me your opinion of the sermon. There are some parts of it *I* do not much approve. I cannot think the death of the body the whole of the wages of sin. Indeed, I cannot, at present, see how *this* can be any part of the wages of sin, seeing that an apostle considers it as an article of the Christian inventory—"*Death is ours.*"

But, again, *this* death is not *abolished*. Again, it is expressly said, "The *soul* that sinneth shall die." The death, then, that it would seem Jesus hath abolished, is the death of the *soul* that Jesus suffered, when he said, "My *soul* is exceeding *sorrowful* even unto death." I am the more inclined thus to think, because, connected with the abolishing of death, we find *life* and immortality is brought to light by the Gospel. Neither can I conceive that bringing again from the dead those who were held its prisoners for a season can be considered a *blessing*, if all such are not raised incorruptible, spiritual, and glorious. The resurrection cannot, in my opinion, be considered a blessing on any other principle. But I will say no more on the sermon at present; except, just, by the by, that, knowing the former President so well as I did, I cannot help thinking he has done what is generally done on such occasions—said a great deal too much in praise of the deceased. I knew him well, perhaps better than the preacher.

* * * * * *

Persons in our character have one advantage in this country you have not with you. We perform the ceremony of marriage. You know I am now at liberty to do this. But in doing this, in such a country as this, we meet with many droll scenes. I was last night sent for to go and marry a couple. But I have not time, room, or, indeed, ability to paint the scene. I, as soon as possible, went through the ceremony. I received my fee, a dollar, and came away. A person accom-

panied me with a lantern, and on asking him some questions respecting the married pair, wondering at a young fellow marrying so old and so ugly a woman, who had neither youth, beauty, nor fortune. "Why sir," said he, "if your honor's reverence will excuse me, I'll tell you what I think. I think we are all made, and some Being or other made us; and he made us all for something. I am no historian, or scriptorian; but I think, please your honor, that God knew what he was about when he made us; that he had a great many things to do, and had need of a great many sorts of folks to do them; and that it did not suit him to make them all alike. I think, please your honor, if your reverence will be so good as to excuse me, that God Almighty does just as he pleases with us all; and that is the reason, I believe, that young man married that old woman. God, I believe, appoints everything." "But, my friend, can you conceive that God would appoint anything that was bad?" said I. "O God bless your honor! No, sir; but I can't think there is anybody stronger than God Almighty." "But, my friend, God permits them to do so and so." "Ay, sir, that may be; but, if your honor will excuse me now,—I am a poor, ignorant man to be sure, and don't know anything;—but indeed, now, sir, it seems to me that if I was to *permit* my child, or any servant I had to do anything that they chose to do, they would think they had my *consent*." By this time we got to my door, and he wished my honor a good night; and here, if it should be evening while you are looking over this P. S., I must wish your honor a good-night. . . .

The Sermon upon which Mr. Murray comments is extant, in a volume of "Remains of Rev. Jonathan Maxcy, D. D." That Mr. M. was not alone in inferring the Universalism of the preacher is evident from the stir it produced at the time. Nor is such an inference surprising. The text was, "The last enemy which shall be destroyed is death."—1 Cor. xv. 26. The preacher considered, "In what respects does death appear to be our enemy;" and enlarged upon the following points:

1. Because he effects the disunion of soul and body; 2. Because it cuts the tenderest ties of nature and friendship; 3. Because it strips us of all our enjoyments; 4. Because it is arrayed in terror; 5. The preacher said, "Death appears our enemy, if we consider him as the offspring of sin." "The

is no more their minister! The Trustees of [the College,] however, cannot think of parting with him, and with much to keep him in his present character, even though he should believe in his heart the restitution of all things. It is true, they own it is a very dangerous error to believe that every part of human nature shall be finally saved from sin, and sorrow, the sad consequence thereof. But then as he is really a *very* pious man, and a VERY learned man, they pray he may continue. But, his constitution being very infirm, he thinks it will be much for his advantage to travel, and has therefore prayed them to furnish themselves with a President before the expiration of the year. You will give me your opinion of the sermon. There are some parts of it *I* do not much approve. I cannot think the death of the body the whole of the wages of sin. Indeed, I cannot, at present, see how *this* can be any part of the wages of sin, seeing that an apostle considers it as an article of the Christian inventory—"*Death is ours.*"

But, again, *this* death is not *abolished.* Again, it is expressly said, "The *soul* that sinneth shall die." The death, then, that it would seem Jesus hath abolished, is the death of the *soul* that Jesus suffered, when he said, "My *soul* is exceeding *sorrowful* even unto death." I am the more inclined thus to think, because, connected with the abolishing of death, we find *life* and immortality is brought to light by the Gospel. Neither can I conceive that bringing again from the dead those who were held its prisoners for a season can be considered a *blessing*, if all such are not raised incorruptible, spiritual, and glorious. The resurrection cannot, in my opinion, be considered a blessing on any other principle. But I will say no more on the sermon at present; except, just, by the by, that, knowing the former President so well as I did, I cannot help thinking he has done what is generally done on such occasions—said a great deal too much in praise of the deceased. I knew him well, perhaps better than the preacher.

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greatest enemy which none can withstand, is death. And yet, formidable as he is, complete as his victory appears, we have the joyful, solemn news to declare, 'this enemy shall be destroyed!' The text styles him the last enemy. Yet we shall obtain the victory. The devil was man's first enemy, and death is his last. Both shall be destroyed. Christ 'hath abolished death;' he was manifest in the flesh, 'that through death he might destroy him who had the power of death, that is the devil.' Christ has struck the blow which will complete the victory, in the destruction of death."

Dr. Maxcy further considered, "How shall death be destroyed?" "It is fully evident, that as to restoration from death, all men gain in Christ what they lost in Adam, because the argumentation, in the verses preceding our text, evinces that Christ abolished that death which Adam incurred." Here we find subjoined, in the printed Sermon, a Note:

"1 Cor. xv. 22: 'As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.' These words make it evident that those made alive by Christ are as numerous as those subjected to death by Adam. Language cannot express this idea with more certainty. Those therefore who believe that the death introduced by Adam was temporal, spiritual, and eternal, if they would be consistent, ought to believe in universal salvation. For Christ has abolished from all, the death produced by Adam. Note the particularity of this expression, 'even so —in Christ shall all be made alive.'"

But this note was not inserted in the original edition, or it would have notified the reader of the author's peculiarity of view.

The Doctor considered, finally, the consequences of the destruction of death. "The malice of Satan will revert upon his own head; his fraudulent designs against man's happiness will terminate in the glory of God. The old serpent, subtile, envious, revengeful, thought to dishonor God's government, in seducing man to rebellion and in subjecting him to mortality. But immediately 'the seed' was revealed, that should bruise the serpent's head; that should counteract and frustrate all

his evil machinations. 'For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil.'—1 John iii. 8. Christ assumed our nature, 'that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the devil."—Heb. ii. 14. Satan undoubtedly supposed he had defeated the gracious designs of Heaven for man's redemption, by effecting the Crucifixion of Christ. But even in his last effort, his malicious schemes turned to his own destruction. Christ's death destroyed death. It gave Satan his mortal wound. It began to dig that mine which is rapidly advancing under his kingdom, and which will finally engulf it in ruin.

"Another important consequence of the destruction of the last enemy is, the restoration of the dead to immortality." "A flood of glory bursts from the Sun of righteousness, shines through the wastes of death, and discovers man restored from ruin, rejoicing in life, and dressed in the robes of immortality." "Rejoice, O man! victory is thine, through the dying Saviour. Look forward, view thy future self, how changed from this imperfect state, beyond the reach of death! Rejoice in that period, when the voice of God shall sound through the universe, and set the prisoner free."

It will be seen that Dr. Maxcy, without further explanation, gave ground for the belief that he entertained the conviction of universal blessing. The devil destroyed, and death destroyed, what evil remains? "Man restored from ruin, rejoicing in life, and dressed in the robes of immortality," and what further salvation can he need? But in republishing his sermon, the Doctor set forth in a preface a plea against the construction of it which had prevailed. He explains that in his view, the death with which Adam was threatened implied natural death only. He protests, "Nothing in the following discourse is so inconsistent with orthodox divinity as some have supposed. I may be in error. If I be, possibly I may not be destitute of companions even from among those who determine never to deviate from opinions they have once adopted."

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He was an original and independent thinker, and became President of Brown University, or Rhode Island College, at the early age of 24. His catholicity of spirit is manifest from the following passage quoted from the preface already referred to:

"The only thing really essential to Christian union is love, or benevolent affection. It is, therefore, with me a fixed principle to censure no man, except for immorality. A diversity of religious opinions, in a state so imperfect, obscure, and sinful as the present, is to be expected. An entire coincidence in sentiment, even in important doctrines, is by no means essential to Christian society, or the attainment of eternal felicity. How many are there who appear to have been subjects of regeneration, who have scarcely an entire, comprehensive view of one doctrine in the Bible! Will the gates of Paradise be barred against these, because they did not possess the penetrating sagacity of an Edwards or a Hopkins? Or shall these great theological champions engross heaven, and shout hallelujahs from its walls, while a Priestley, a Price, and a Winchester, merely for difference in opinion, though pre-eminent in virtue, must sink into the regions of darkness and pain?"

IX.

BOSTON, January, 19, 1795.

Knowing how much my invaluable friend is prejudiced in favor of everything that drops from the pen of our poetical friend, Mrs. Murray, . . . and a recent circumstance having given birth to the enclosed production, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of forwarding it.

I think I informed you that we had a good organ in our meeting. The youth who plays on it is the son of a first cousin of Mrs. Murray. He is one of three children she has had born blind. A member of my congregation took compassion on this lad, and engaged a master of music to teach him. It was soon found that the great Master had, in the sense of hearing, made up to this child the loss of sight. He has been equally kind to the other two. How marvellous the loving kindness of our God! This lad soon attained to a sufficient share of musical skill to play on our organ. He has now per-

formed upwards of two years. Our congregation, I think I have already told you, are not rich in this world's goods; yet they wish this lad may, by his musical abilities, maintain himself. They therefore hit on the expedient of having a concert of vocal and instrumental (sacred) music, admittance by tickets, 2s. 3d. each. On this occasion Mrs. Murray was solicited to write an ode. I seconded the solicitation. She told me she was at a loss to know in what manner she should write it. I was that moment obliged to go out, and, as I passed the street where I was going, I composed in my mind the following verse, and on my return wrote, and gave it as her model:

O come, Divine Benevolence,
Thy sacred influence dispense,
And give each heart to know
The tender, kind, endearing tie,
Which draws the scattered kindred nigh,
And dissipates their woe.

"Well, then," said she, "write it yourself." "No, my dear," said I, "you know I have neither time nor talents." I left town the next morning for Providence, forty-five miles from hence. Mrs. Murray had visitors; her niece was under Doctor's hands, very sick; her servant gone from home. Thus circumstanced, her labors of mind and body were so multiplied that I despaired of her being able to do anything in the way I requested. On my return from Providence, however, on opening a drawer I found the enclosed, and confess I was pleased. The master who taught the youth set it to music, and it was well performed as a most pleasing part of the concert. I will endeavor to get you the music also. There were tickets enough sold to raise for the lad, besides paying the expenses, £50 of our money. [$225.] A dollar with us is 4s. 6d.

I find it rather difficult to avoid communicating to my friend my pains of mind and body, as well as my pleasures; and many of these, God knows, I have, and many of these I confess, I had a right to expect. It was to such as your friend, in an especial manner, our blessed Master spake when he said, In the world you shall have tribulation. I have had a considerable share of this. I cannot say I *have had* my share, for then should I have no more. From these vexatious matters I endeavor to turn away, and walk by faith. I endeavor to look forward to the rest that remaineth. There only I shall find rest: there only I ought to expect it: there only I am encouraged to find it: there I am confident I shall have it. I know in whom I have believed. *He* is faithful that has prom-

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ised. *I* may be *unfaithful.* I may not know to whom the promise is made; but the promise don't depend on *my* faithfulness: my peace and my joy do. For how true soever the word of the faithful God, and how sure soever the fulfilment, yet, if *I* do not *know* what he has promised, or if I do not believe the promise is to me, I must be as miserable in myself, as if God's thoughts were not thoughts of peace, but were really thoughts of evil. I must be as unhappy as if God had never promised, or as if he had never promised to *me*, in promising to his friend Abram, that in his seed all the families of the earth should be blessed. My *eternal* felicity depends on him that fashioned my frame, that breathed into it his own breath, that gave this soul, thus breathed from himself, redemption in the Beloved, even the forgiveness of its sins. My eternal happiness depends on God; on the *wisdom* of God, in devising a plan that men or devils could never counteract; on the *goodness* of God, that never could devise a plan that was not calculated ultimately to secure the happiness of his creatures, his offspring, which happiness of his creatures is so intimately connected with *his own glory*, that the one cannot be manifested without the other; on the *power* of God, that never can be defeated by any other power, which power will enable him to perform *all* his *pleasure;* and his pleasure is to save that which was lost, to bring again that which was driven away, to lead captivity captive, to comfort *all* that mourn, to put down all rule, all authority, and power, to purify the polluted nature, thoroughly to purge his floor, separating the chaff from the wheat, doing what the Saviour was manifested to do, for he was manifested to take away our sin; and that we may know whom we are to understand by OUR, we are directed by the Divinely-instructed Baptist, to behold the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. On these and such like testimonies I am enabled to *rest*, because I *believe* them. But if I did not believe them, they would nevertheless be true, as God is true, and so being, they would some time or other be made manifest; so that if it is really true, that Jesus is the Saviour of all men, this will be manifested in due time. And when the time for its manifestation is come, then every eye shall see, and seeing shall confess, the truth which till then they cannot know, and not knowing cannot believe, and not believing with their heart cannot confess with their mouth, to the glory of the Father of the spirits of all flesh. Thus, then, my beloved friend, I go on, in the toilsome journey of life, sorrowing when I look at the things which are seen, re-

joicing when I am enabled to look with my mind's eye to the things which by my bodily eye cannot be seen. In this state I have much to fear, little to hope: in this state I am hastening to, I have nothing to fear and every thing to hope:

"O the joy of expectation!
Happy we
Soon shall see
All our Lord's salvation."

I feel this morning uncommonly sick of the world. This disorder, like many others, admits of intervals of ease. I sometimes feel as if I was getting better, and have some rest. But soon I am made to know by some infallible signs that my disorder is incurable, and, like other poor incurables, I then long to depart. I languish for rest. I long to arrive at the New Jerusalem, in which no sickness ever is, no hurt, no ache, no sore, no death or tempting devil, but life forevermore. There all old things will be done away, and all things become new. He that sat on the throne said, Behold, *I* make all things new: write, these are the *true* sayings of God. Believing these *true* sayings of God, we have that peace which the world cannot give or take away.

I am as sure of eternal felicity, as I am of the being of a God. Yet, God knoweth, and I would have all men know, that I have this assurance from nothing in myself, from neither my doing nor my believing. Alas! both these are against me. I do not know an individual in God's creation who deserves eternal death more than myself. But, when I find that Jesus died for my sins, I am as well assured that I shall not die for them myself, as I am that God is just. Yes, I am now assured that the just God is my Saviour; and I am as well assured there is no other God beside the Saviour. And *I* think I should offend this just, this Saviour God less by denying his existence, than by saying that he brought me into existence for any other purpose than his glory and my *good;* or that, having brought me into being for this purpose, he either changed his mind or met with difficulties he could not surmount. I would rather it should be affirmed on the page of history by the historian, that I never had an existence, than that it should be said, I existed in the character unbelievers give the Deity. He that offereth praise to our Saviour honoreth him; and, considering who he is, and what he has done for every creature, he is worthy to be praised and had in reverence of *all* that he has made. . . . .

Your ever affectionate friend, JOHN MURRAY.

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I am as sure of eternal felicity, as I am of the being of a God. Yet, God knoweth, and I would have all men know, that I have this assurance from nothing in myself, from neither my doing nor my believing. Alas! both these are against me. I do not know an individual in God's creation who deserves eternal death more than myself. But, when I find that Jesus died for my sins, I am as well assured that I shall not die for them myself, as I am that God is just. Yes, I am now assured that the just God is my Saviour; and I am as well assured there is no other God beside the Saviour. And *I* think I should offend this just, this Saviour God less by denying his existence, than by saying that he brought me into existence for any other purpose than his glory and my *good;* or that, having brought me into being for this purpose, he either changed his mind or met with difficulties he could not surmount. I would rather it should be affirmed on the page of history by the historian, that I never had an existence, than that it should be said, I existed in the character unbelievers give the Deity. He that offereth praise to our Saviour honoreth him; and, considering who he is, and what he has done for every creature, he is worthy to be praised and had in reverence of *all* that he has made. . . . .

Your ever affectionate friend, JOHN MURRAY.

It may be noted, in illustration of the difficulties of correspondence during the French Revolution, that the above letter, written in January, 1795, did not reach its address, Truro, Cornwall, until February, 1796. How it dodged cruisers, and escaped from detentions, we have no means of knowing; but if gifted, it might tell an interesting tale.

The Concert Bill to which Mr. Murray alludes is before us. It is handsomely printed, on paper still firm, the impression black and even, and the type round and graceful. We are disposed to copy it, firstly, to exhibit the material of a concert 70 years ago, and, secondly, to present the Ode written for the occasion by Mrs. Murray. Of this Ode the music has also come back to us.

The Bill is given in the Note below.[1]

[1] ORDER OF MUSIC.

To be performed at the Universal Meeting-House, on Tuesday, January 6, 1795.

Symphony.

DEDICATORY ANTHEM. . . . . By Mr. HOLDEN.

Prayer, by the Reverend Mr. MURRAY.

CHAMPLAIN. . . . . *Anthem.* . . . . . By Mr. HOLYOKE.
EASTER. . . . . *Anthem.* . . . . . By Mr. BILLINGS.
BEHOLD, GOD IS MY SALVATION, . *Anthem.* . . . . . By Mr. SELBY.

ODE, written by a Lady;—set to Music by Mr. GRAND.

Ye Spirits bland, from heaven descend,
Around this hallow'd temple bend,
With aspects all benign;
Philanthropy, first-born of truth,
Of Paradise the fairest growth,
Replete with powers divine.

Hov'ring around, we feel you press,
This consecrated fane to bless,
Its pious rights to guard;
Benevolence, religion twines,
With blest munificence designs,
And is its own reward.

Benevolence, whose genial sway
Commission'd hath the new-born day
And burst the prisoner's chains;
Its progress can arrest despair,
Can smooth the furrow'd brow of care,
While mild compassion reigns.

Thus when enrapt in *Howard's* guise,
To mortals lent from yonder skies,
And borne on mercy's wing;
The depth of human woe it sought,
With lenient balm assuaging fraught,
Returning light to bring.

The staple of the Concert would do honor to the present day. The old New England composers had rightfully their representation; while two of the grandest productions of the immortal Handel gave sublimity to the entertainment.

X.

BOSTON, March 30, 1795.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND. . . . Our illustrious President having by proclamation appointed the 19th day of Febru-

Ye worshippers of *Howard's* God,
These sacred courts who oft have trod,
Your minstrel asks your aid;
And though he mourns a prison'd sense,
A votary of benevolence,
His vows are cheerful paid.

Illum'd by hope, his mental gaze
A central Deity surveys,
Round whom a world revolves;
And, conscious of the brotherhood,
By each sensation understood,
Kindred which nought dissolves.

His humble claim with confidence
He renders to benevolence,
Nor fears to draw in vain;
Benevolence, with magic hand
But waves her peace-inspiring wand,
And ills no more remain.

Rich as the gladsome beam of light,
Which o'er the eye-ball pours the sight;
When first the veil is rent;
Sweet as the odoriferous gale,
Which sweeps the aromatic vale,
With many a fragrant scent;

Soft as the vernal shower descends,
Or the blue stream which fruitful bends
Along the desert way;
Yea, still more blest—benevolence
The richest solace can dispense
With broad and liberal sway.

Its source is Heaven—implanted there,
Of growth celestial, good and fair,
By rectitude impress'd;
It moulds the heart—the purpose gives,
The boon each sufferer receives,
And is by God confess'd.

Exordium, by the Reverend Mr. MURRAY.

THE BRIGHT SERAPHIM.		By Mr. HANDELL.
RESURRECTION.	*Anthem.*	By Mr. GRAM.
THE LORD HATH DONE GREAT THINGS FOR US.	*Anthem.*	By Mr. COOPER.
THANKSGIVING.	*Anthem.*	By Mr. REEVES.
HALLELUJAH.	*Chorus.*	By Mr. HANDELL.

N. B. The Accompaniments will be on the Organ, by Mr. PETER DOLLIVER, JR.

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ary as a day of public Thanksgiving, the discourse I delivered on that day my hearers requested me to publish. This, as I never take notes, I assured them was impossible, but, on their repeated solicitations, I promised them I would recover as much of the discourse as possible by recollection, and give it from the press. I take the liberty, my much loved friend, to present you a copy. You will soon discover, in looking over it, the author is no craftsman. I have never habituated myself to write my thoughts on the subjects that present themselves. I go to meeting more as a *hearer* than a *speaker*. I go resolved to hear what God the Lord will say unto me, and I am persuaded I have not a hearer in my congregation that receives more information, or consolation, from attending there, than I do. When I first received a call to speak well of the Redeemer's name, I was taught to take no thought what I should say. I was assured it should be given me in the same hour what I should say. I believed God, and have found him faithful that hath promised. I might be more coldly correct had I been in the habit of studying and writing my discourses, but I should not in that case have known so much of the pleasure of a life of faith, which I can testify is the sweetest life in the world.

I have nothing new to write respecting myself or my family. We are very much as when I wrote last. Public matters, indeed, have assumed a different aspect. What, my friend, shall we say to the progress of the French arms? I am frighted, while I am looking at things that are seen. I find peace only when I look with a single eye. Then I see but one Power, but one Wisdom; and consider the power and policy of the nations as the dust in the balance. O my friend, there is a God that reigneth. This, at all times, is a sufficient source of rejoicing. His single arm rules all worlds; but this arm is not yet revealed. It shall be, however, in due time, and then all the nations shall see that the Judge of all the earth hath done what, before the revelation of this arm, they foolishly thought was done by themselves. They will also see that this arm did all things well—that this Judge of all the earth did right. How few are there among God's people that live by faith! O that I could live more by faith on the Son of God! But surely, if we may judge by events, we must suppose some great changes are about to take place in our world. Blessed are they who are indulged with the privilege of dying in the Lord, and leaving it! Well, *our* salvation is nearer than when we first believed.

"A little season, and we know
Happy entrance shall be given,
All our sorrows left below,
And earth exchanged for heaven."

* * * * * * * * * * *

Your ever affectionate Friend,
JOHN MURRAY.

XI.

BOSTON, Aug. 23, 1795.

. . . . I enjoy, through Divine favor, as much health, and as much happiness, as ever fell to the lot of any person at any time of life, in my character. Mrs. Murray enjoys more health than, some time since, I thought she ever would. My sweet little girl is every day still more charming. My congregation is still increasing, in number and in weight; and to crown all, I live in the full assurance of eternal happiness. And, as I have nothing to ground my assurance on but the perfect love of God manifested in the gift of his Son, in whom I have redemption; and as I am persuaded that he who was given to be the propitiation for my sins, was, by the same grace and love of God, given to be the propitiation for the sins of the whole world; as I am persuaded that he who is *my* life is, in fact, the life of *the world:* while, with a heart swelling with gratitude, I give God thanks for this inestimable blessing on my *own* behalf, in full faith in the Gospel preached unto Abraham, I give thanks unto God on behalf of all mankind.

Nothing prevents the fulness of human nature shining as the sun now, but what originated from the grand enemy; but when his work is separated from God's work, then shall they who were made for the Son, see him as he is, the Head of every man, and appear in his likeness. These considerations, my loved friend, are to me a never-failing source of felicity. With what ineffable delight I look on my child, when I consider how much greater the love of her heavenly Father is, than mine! What extatic delight I often feel when I look on my congregation, and feel the affection of my soul drawn out toward them, on reflecting how much greater the High Priest of our profession loves them than I do, and how much greater evidence he has given of his love than I can, when, by the grace of God, he tasted death for every man, gave himself a ransom for all, etc.! It is then that I can give thanks for all men; it is then that I can pray in faith, nothing doubting, for all men; and, thus thinking and thus feeling, I can, with

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my ever dear, my ever faithful friend, exclaim, O! of what vast importance is faith! Without it, it is impossible to please our God, or enjoy true felicity in our own souls.

* * * * * * * * * *

You are sorry that I entertain even a thought of a decline of your regards: so am I. So you see there are a couple of sorry fellows of us. But I never *entertain* such thoughts. They are troublesome intruders, that sometimes press upon me; but I give them no entertainment. I drive them from me, as fast as possible. You say I may very naturally expect it, when I reflect on the mutability of man. True, very true; and yet, strange to tell, we are more inclined to depend with confidence on the creature of whom we have formed a good opinion, than on the Creator. If I was assured your ability was equal to your will, and you had, in a solemn manner, promised me any good, I think the consideration of the mutability of human nature would give me no pain. I should rest in the assurance that the friend I am writing to would be an exception to the general rule. Why, then, O! why do we ever doubt, when the promises of our God are repeated? He is faithful that has promised.

So the world wears a different face to my friend from what it formerly did. This is not to me matter of wonder; but it would be to me matter of astonishment if, in future, it did not appear still more deformed. You seem unable to determine whether this is owing to the abatement of the passions, or a real change in your old friends. I fancy, my friend, it in some degree may be in consequence of both. Depend on it, my friend, the longer you live in the world, the less you will like it; and the longer you are acquainted with a certain description of men in it, the less you will admire them.

The second of May in England, a charming season. But, alas! everything *without* may be charming; yet, to be charmed therewith, everything must be in order *within*. This serves to convince us that even heaven itself is more within than without us. I have for a long while experienced the state you were in on the 2d of May. It is not a pleasing state, that is certain; but it is a profitable state, for it serves to wean us from this, which is not our home, and prepare us for the state we are hasting to, which is. God is pleased to deal with us, his little children, as mothers sometimes do with *their* little children, when they apply some bitter tincture in order to wean the child, who is naturally fond of the breast. But

as the pleasures of sense fail, how great the goodness of our God in supplying their place with the pleasures of faith! We gain much by this change. Some have ventured to affirm, there is really more joy in the expectation of good in future, than in the possession. Whether this is the case with respect to the good things of this life, I will not pretend to determine; but this I am well assured of: that there is more real joy in the expectation of future felicity than in the enjoyment of any present good. I cannot therefore think we are losers when the "natural world has yielded to the beauties of the Gospel." I bless God you find more and more pleasure in an acquaintance with Christ and his ever blessed Gospel. Trust me, my beloved friend, there are no pleasures equal to these. This is a subject which will never wax old: this is a subject which will never be exhausted.

I forget whether I ever told you of a conversation I once held in this country with a clergyman who has made himself conspicuous by giving a name to a sect (Hopkinsians). I rode thirty miles in his company on my way to his place of residence (Newport). "You are going," said he, "I presume, to Newport." — "Yes, sir." — "Do you know anybody there?" — "Not a soul." — "You have letters, I presume, to some persons there?" — "Not a scroll." — "What, then, are you going for?" — "To see the place and people, and preach to them the Gospel of the grace of God." — "Then you have no prospect of any particular place to preach in?" — "No, sir." — "Well, sir, there *I* have a home, and a meeting-house, in which, I promise you, you shall not preach. Yet, as I live there, and you may possibly preach there, it is fit I should know what idea you have of the Gospel. Therefore I ask you, What is the Gospel?" — "I am happy, sir, in being able to give you a direct answer, in the language of the best preacher that ever preached the Gospel: who, preaching to Abraham, said, 'In thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.'" — "Is that all you know of Gospel?" — "Is not that a vast deal, sir? Why, the Apostle thought *one* part of three was enough for the labors of his whole life to be employed in, when he said, 'I am determined to know nothing among you but Christ and him crucified.' But this subject contains three heads: 1. The seed; 2. All the families of the earth; 3. The blessings with which all the families of the earth shall be blessed in this seed. Let me tell you, my dear sir, this is a very copious subject." — "Sir, let me tell *you*, you know nothing of the Gospel." — "Well, sir, if you *know*

the conflict between Rationalism and Christian Traditionalism, Naturalism and Supernaturalism, though studious to keep conversant with their various phases of denial and assertion and proof.

We are not troubled, since we see them all in subjection to this commanding spirit of the century, and find it equal to the task of probing the shams and falsehoods in and round about them all.

We judge a thing by what it appears and effects. We take it as a witness on the stand whose testimony we weigh by his general reputation, by his conduct under examination, and by the intrinsic character of his testimony as related to the case in hand. We have no better way of estimating this spirit of usefulness and helpfulness. We are not called to prove its existence. If any doubt, let them rub their eyes and look again. Or let them propose some legislation, which looks backward to the profit of the few against the many; let them attempt to keep intact the old curriculum of study and the old lines of thought; let them issue an invention, a power, a philosophy, a scheme of commerce, or labor, which do not accord with the practical instincts of to-day, and offer no help to the earnest workers in life and thought, and they will awaken to the character of the age — an age poor enough, but yet rich in love of God and man above all the past. How to use the world aright, and how to help each other aright, are the vital questions.

We think the answer to the first springs from the lips of Science, while the other is most emphatically answered in the religion of Jesus Christ.

Science tells us of the world's frame and attributes, and how to trace and use them. The Christian Religion tells us how, and impels us, to help our fellow-beings.

In this may we not find the reconciliation of science and religion, seeing wherein they especially supplement each other, and that each would forever remain sterile of those grand products of mental and spiritual discipline and progress the world begins to enjoy, except they flow together in the

great channel of man's practical life? We need not stop to show how our knowledge of the right uses of things, so far as it goes, is derived from science. We have only to look into the seventh, tenth or seventeenth centuries upon magic, necromancy and charms, which crippled society and made the abuse of the world the rule, and then follow science as it slowly gathered facts, laid bare laws, and directed men how to put them to right uses. Thus it set the world's engineers to an intelligent manipulation of the forces of air, earth and sea, whereby our civilization is made more secure than any in the past, since its foundations are being more firmly cemented to the unalterable laws of the world with which it is immediately and prospectively concerned. We do not mean that civilization is merely material by this, but that its permanency and growth will be decided by its resting not on visions, but on the laws of the world. And we do not mean that science is all materiality. We find it of a higher mission. It cannot confine itself in its growth to unreasoning matter, but enspheres in its outreaching arms reasoning man, considering him *while yet man* as a legitimate subject of science in conjunction with the world in which he is now rooted by the body. We thus look to science to learn the right uses and care of lungs, eyes and brain, as we do those of the steam engine, galvanic battery and electric jar.

By this we find how and why science demands to be heard in realms which theology and the church have too long persisted in claiming as exclusively their own. Discovering how potently the body acts upon the intellect and spirit of man, science advances to show the vast array of false views, imaginings, and deranged processes of thought and practice abroad in life, that arise from a disturbed state of the body — either from internal derangement or from locality and climate. And by doing this, it lays the axe at the root of ten thousand notions which have blighted life and made governments and religions shrouds for the noblest instincts and intuitions of the mind.

Here we discover where science enters through an opened

door into the domain of human religious interests. And it acts in a positive and negative way. Negatively, by reducing many phases of life, agony, exhilaration and reflection, to a deranged state of nerves, blood and digestion, thereby plucking from the religionist many things he has long honestly regarded as evidences of the presence of gross depravity, or a personal devil, or signs of a special action of God's Spirit upon men. This is negative, but how useful and helpful a work. Positively, science throws light upon the requisite physical conditions for healthful mental and moral being on earth. The scientific thus becomes the most indispensable education, for it alone can put man into intelligent relations with his surroundings, introduce him to the various departments of the mansion God has placed him in, and adjust habit and thought to the economy and laws of the world.

False ideas, and want of ideas, about himself and his outward state such as science alone is destined to correct and supply, is still the source of incalculable evils to every class of society, and we have come by slow progress to see that religion in its truest Christian form and expression can make no permanent conquest only as man is educated to make right uses of natural agencies. It is no longer a question of doubt, that such education must go with all Christian reconstruction of social, political and religious institutions. The missionary is learning it. Our Republic demonstrates it. It found at the very inception of national life, with its great Christian idea of brotherhood and equality, that this idea, even with all its self-evident force and dazzling attractiveness, would be but the occasion of innumerable delusions and abuses without the school-house had freedom to do its saving, preparatory work.

While the Christian idea and spirit may possess the mind and heart of the ignorant and educated alike, yet to the one they will most likely come, and by him be sent abroad, as a kernel of wheat in a basket of chaff; while with the other, divine principles are most likely to be seen in a far more consistent and comprehensive measure, when his intelligence directs his converted heart how, in many higher ways, natural

great channel of man's practical life? We need not stop to show how our knowledge of the right uses of things, so far as it goes, is derived from science. We have only to look into the seventh, tenth or seventeenth centuries upon magic, necromancy and charms, which crippled society and made the abuse of the world the rule, and then follow science as it slowly gathered facts, laid bare laws, and directed men how to put them to right uses. Thus it set the world's engineers to an intelligent manipulation of the forces of air, earth and sea, whereby our civilization is made more secure than any in the past, since its foundations are being more firmly cemented to the unalterable laws of the world with which it is immediately and prospectively concerned. We do not mean that civilization is merely material by this, but that its permanency and growth will be decided by its resting not on visions, but on the laws of the world. And we do not mean that science is all materiality. We find it of a higher mission. It cannot confine itself in its growth to unreasoning matter, but enspheres in its outreaching arms reasoning man, considering him *while yet man* as a legitimate subject of science in conjunction with the world in which he is now rooted by the body. We thus look to science to learn the right uses and care of lungs, eyes and brain, as we do those of the steam engine, galvanic battery and electric jar.

By this we find how and why science demands to be heard in realms which theology and the church have too long persisted in claiming as exclusively their own. Discovering how potently the body acts upon the intellect and spirit of man, science advances to show the vast array of false views, imaginings, and deranged processes of thought and practice abroad in life, that arise from a disturbed state of the body — either from internal derangement or from locality and climate. And by doing this, it lays the axe at the root of ten thousand notions which have blighted life and made governments and religions shrouds for the noblest instincts and intuitions of the mind.

Here we discover where science enters through an opened

door into the domain of human religious interests. And it acts in a positive and negative way. Negatively, by reducing many phases of life, agony, exhilaration and reflection, to a deranged state of nerves, blood and digestion, thereby plucking from the religionist many things he has long honestly regarded as evidences of the presence of gross depravity, or a personal devil, or signs of a special action of God's Spirit upon men. This is negative, but how useful and helpful a work. Positively, science throws light upon the requisite physical conditions for healthful mental and moral being on earth. The scientific thus becomes the most indispensable education, for it alone can put man into intelligent relations with his surroundings, introduce him to the various departments of the mansion God has placed him in, and adjust habit and thought to the economy and laws of the world.

False ideas, and want of ideas, about himself and his outward state such as science alone is destined to correct and supply, is still the source of incalculable evils to every class of society, and we have come by slow progress to see that religion in its truest Christian form and expression can make no permanent conquest only as man is educated to make right uses of natural agencies. It is no longer a question of doubt, that such education must go with all Christian reconstruction of social, political and religious institutions. The missionary is learning it. Our Republic demonstrates it. It found at the very inception of national life, with its great Christian idea of brotherhood and equality, that this idea, even with all its self-evident force and dazzling attractiveness, would be but the occasion of innumerable delusions and abuses without the school-house had freedom to do its saving, preparatory work.

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forces may be usefully employed, and spiritual growth advanced, of which the first has no appreciation.

And since we discover the spirit of usefulness and helpfulness so evidently abroad in the world, fostering especially scientific knowledge; and since this knowledge more than all else furnishes right ideas of the uses of the world in which we now dwell, and particularly deals with its facts and constitution — therefore we have claimed, and think we prove, that this same spirit which, we admit, sinks sometimes into bald materialism, and again bounds into a dissolute spiritualism, is yet the angel of the struggle for, and the test of, right ideas of the world and of the helps of man.

Doubtless God's "one increasing purpose" is to raise man through experimental life to right ideas and uses of life and of the dwelling-place he finds so richly furnished and adorned. And much do the poet, the preacher and prophet of to-day dwell upon the segment of this "purpose" they are permitted to see developing. They seem not to themselves at least presumptuous in noting often how we have attained to many correct ideas.

And it is not difficult to discover just where in God's purpose science takes the leading strings of the world and conducts to new issues and greater heights. Previous to the successful innovations of scientific methods and thought in philosophy and practical life, the scholars and religionists of all the world for the most part were engaged in inactive reverie, and, what a later day has proved, the production of countless volumes of valueless speculations which are now remanded to the owls and bats. Yet we must not forget that the world's periods of inactive reverie are inevitable and indispensable stages of progress. For it is then when the mind is first really arrested by the aspect of things, and stops to gaze, wonder and dream. It is then man begins to look upon the world with new-born longings, and in upon self with anxiety and awe.

This stage in the history of an individual, a people, or an age, is an exceedingly hopeful one — hopeful though it be pro-

ductive of the crudest thought, and augment for a time the superstition and folly of the world a thousand fold. For it is the necessary fixing of the mind upon objects of study, which must precede any approximate solution of the phenomena of nature and spirit. Then so soon as gazing, amazement and awe pass into active, devout inquiry, and earnest, steadfast contemplation, the materials of a still higher step are gathered, when man rises to a more calm, rational and clear observation and investigation of life. Then are struck off those larger generalizations which fill the world with admiration, linking the seeming disjointed parts of nature, man and Divine providence into one comprehensive whole of things, through which we find the everlasting laws of Divinity vindicating His almighty purposes. Then indeed we see how it is true that there are diversities of operations, and that it is the same God who worketh all in all.

Now Science begins to lead where this early inactive reverie begins to end, and its chief praises at first are sung for its service in taking an individual, or an age, from this state of staring, ignorance and reverie, to one of useful acquirement, investigation and thought. For this sets the world in motion; this gives it something to do and to think about; this begins to break idols, and wakens society into a healthful if sometimes dangerous activity; this produces fire and new currents of motion by the collision of the new with the old, by the abrasion of the living present upon the institutions peculiar to the past yet projecting their shadows into the life of the society of to-day.

Out of this modern activity, for which we are thus indebted to science, is born, through the marriage of the latter with Jesus' law of love to man, this spirit which we have said is the test of all ideas, institutions and projects which concern our common humanity. And it expresses itself in one comprehensive proposition: How shall the world be used, and what ideas should be fostered, that human society may be helped to the attainment of its highest privileges and culture,

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which shall in turn show forth God's glory and will in earth as in heaven?

We are satisfied the answer to this rests in the developments of the Christian Religion joined with those of scientific knowledge. The answer will come only with —

1. Right ideas of the influence and constitution of material nature. 2. Right ideas of human nature. 3. Right ideas of man's relation to man. 4. Right ideas of man's relation to God.

As to right ideas of material nature, Christianity gives but a superficial if indeed any satisfactory response.

As to right ideas of human nature, Christianity gives but a partial answer.

As to right ideas of man's relation to man, Christianity gives the most definite and decided of answers.

As to right ideas of man's relation to God, Christianity gives a positive and entirely satisfactory reply.

These four inquiries evidently embrace the profoundest interests of individual, social and national existence; and we find them either yet to be answered, or already partly or fully answered by the Christian Religion on the one hand, and by Science on the other. And at this present time, when by some hallucination consequent upon an overbearing dogmatism and a persistent intolerance of opinion, doctrinal ideas seem to be at a discount, it is vastly important to be reminded that the above transcendent inquiries relate particularly to fundamental *ideas*, and that social and religious *life* in the future, and now, depend for character upon them. And attention should be drawn not to the falsehood that dogma and creed are of no account compared with life, but to the distinction as to what idea, what doctrine, what faith is paramount and what subordinate.

Since to the first question above, Religion makes no pretension to answer, we look entirely to Science to demonstrate to us by its cunning processes what are right ideas respecting this realm of earth and stars in which we evidently but begin our lessons of being. And right ideas ever increasing in

number and importance it has given, till various natural phenomena that once bowed ignorant Pagans and equally ignorant Christians before a supposed angry God, or caused them to flee from imagined fiends, have been set forth in an orderly succession of physical or vital forces. And as the student has followed, during the last and present century, with reverent step this line of connected forces, he has brought to light for human use here a discovery and there an invention, here a new form of an old power and there a new instrument of human progress, until ocean, earth and air are recognized as exhaustless reservoirs of agencies for advancing the welfare of body, mind and heart, and for building the scaffolding from which we are to work in enlarging the structure of a new and more perfect civilization. And by its revelations of the influence of surrounding objects, atmosphere, food and temperament, upon the brain and heart of the world, we have seen where science brings its wisdom to bear upon the moral and religious sides of life. Here it begins to help us to right ideas of human nature. We said Christianity gives but a partial idea of man's nature — it having reference more particularly to the spiritual element — but it is found that no clear and satisfactory answer can be given about man's *nature* till Science explains the factor of the bodily organism and how it is influenced and acts, and when and how far, in turn, its condition influences all mental and even all moral manifestations in man. The world, through ignorance of the agencies operating upon and within the human body, and their connection with mental processes and moral phases, failing to gain any but radically false views of man's nature, has been one constant exhibition of blunders and cruelty in its philosophical, religious, educational and practical treatment of man in both health and disease. Some advance was made, because some science and some genuine elements of humanity have ever been at work. But truly says Prof. Yeoumans in his most welcome and scholarly essay on human nature:

"It availed nothing that, for thousands of years, there had been a broad current of intense and powerful thought in the

which shall in turn show forth God's glory and will in earth as in heaven?

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channels of poetry, polemics, oratory, philosophy, politics, theology and devotion. All this multifarious culture was powerless to arrest the evil consequences of a radically erroneous view of human nature, for the simple reason that the discovery of truth was not among its objects. It was only when a class of men, participating in the new spirit of modern times, and drawn to the investigation by the necessities of their profession, entered earnestly upon the study of the body, that views were reached which have revolutionized and humanized the treatment of the insane. Discovering that the mind is dependent upon the organism, and that its disordered manifestations are the result of organic derangement, they found that insanity is not a devil to be exorcised, but a disease to be cured. After a sharp struggle with popular ignorance and traditional prejudice, the better views have triumphed, and society is beginning to reap the beneficent consequences of their labors: the stern and violent measures, that served but to aggravate the malady, have given place to gentle and kindly treatment, which is found to be of itself a most potent means of restoration."

Do we not here discover where and how Science and the Christian Religion meet and are reconciled as two operations with one God working all in all? Both treating of the constitutional laws of connected parts of one universe, one being, and one Great Cause, they agree, as they meet in man's practical and vital concerns, in advocating the laws of kindness, charity and restoration. Together they reveal those truths of human nature, which will prove themselves by their application to the necessities of our social, national and religious being. Man's physical and spiritual health are in their keeping. Separated, each is weak and insufficient; for with all our trust in the potency of God in Christ, we still know that Jesus, and all God's holy prophets and angels, are of little avail where society is weighed down with infelicitous, untoward, or deranged physical conditions. And when hereafter we speak intelligently of human salvation and the progress of Christian civilization, we shall heed two voices, one asserting that human salvation is "an affair of the air respired, its moisture, temperature, density, purity, and electrical state; an affair of food, digestion and nutrition; of the quantity,

quality and speed of the blood sent to the brain; of clothing and exercise, fatigue and repose, health and disease; of variable volition and automatic nerve action; of fluctuating feeling, redundancy and exhaustion of nerve-power; an affair of light, color, sound, resistance; of sensuous impressibility, temperament, family history, constitutional predisposition, and unconscious influence; of material surroundings, and a host of agencies which stamp themselves upon the plastic organism, and reappear in character; in short, that it involves that complete acquaintance with corporeal conditions which science alone can give" — while the other voice calls aloud in song and prayer and solemn speech and exultant prophecy: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men. The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted. Love worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law. Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. And the God of love shall be with you."

The thoughts these complemental voices utter in harmony must so far give right ideas; for if demonstration is proof, then is it certain that these ideas concerning physical conditions adjusted by a knowledge of natural laws under the spiritual quickening of the law and inspiration of Jesus Christ and kindred sons of God, to effect human salvation, are right ideas; since wherever they have gone hand in hand, to the extent of their intelligent reception, they have purified bodies, hearts, homes, and nations.

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Out of this union is arising a new social state, involving a reconstruction of theologies and political constitutions, and marking, we doubt not, one of the most memorable eras in human history and progress.

Concerning right ideas of man's relations to man, we said the Christian religion gives a decided response; and we hasten to remark that its answer — the Equality and Brotherhood of Man — is being now tested for the first time in history on any extended scale, by being taken into our National Constitution, and wrought as a fact into the structure of our vast social and civil organism. This is proof also of the memorable character of the era in which we live. It is our National idea — in reality having its political birth in the Christian consciousness and sublime heroism of our forefathers — standing at this hour the most honored, feared, loved and stalwart political and religious dogma of the world, causing kings, emperors, Old World and New World demagogues, priests and bigots to scold, and rage, and then reluctantly submit to its democratic dictation and benign spirit.

Concerning man's relation to God, we said the Christian religion gives an unequivocal and satisfactory reply: Sons and daughters of God, the Father, who is Love.

If the grandest and most perfect idea we can entertain about an infinite and holy God is most likely to be true and right, *because it is the most sublime and perfect man is capable of conceiving and receiving*, and because, if *received as a fact*, it gives *perfect* rest and peace, then may we know by its scope, its use and its help, that the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and its correlative doctrine of human brotherhood, are right ideas, having spiritual force enough in them to insure the salvation of the world, the inspiration of the race, and the holiest helps of its personal members.

ARTICLE IV.

Errors of Lexicons of the New Testament.

GEORGII PASORIS LEXICON MANUALE NOVI TESTAMENTI, cum ejusdem LIBELLO de ACCENTIBUS GRÆCIS N. T., post curas ANDRÆ GEOTZII emendatum et auctum; a JOH. FRID. FISHERO, qui et PRÆFATIONEM de VITIIS LEXICORUM N. T., addidit. 1636.[1]

THIS work is written in Latin, and consists of a Lexicon of the Greek Testament, and three distinct Prefaces; the last of which, by Fisher, is very valuable for the criticisms it contains. The subject is the ERRORS OF LEXICONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. We propose to extract the most valuable portions of this Preface, for the benefit of students, believing they are too important and useful to be lost, or confined to a dead language; especially as it is highly probable there are not a score of the books now in existence. To avoid too long an article, we shall omit the references to authors, and pass over also the least important criticisms, bringing forward only such as we deem worthy of the careful attention of biblical scholars.

We do not propose to give a translation of the author, nor confine ourself entirely to his ideas and statements; though we shall be careful not to misrepresent him, nor ascribe to him ideas which he does not express. All that is said of the English version is of course our own; though it may be based on the ideas of the author.

He charges the Lexicons of the New Testament with attributing to many words meanings that are wholly false; to others, such as are vague and indefinite; and to some, a strength of meaning which the *usus loquendi* will not warrant. What he means by this last statement, will be best understood when we come to the examples he adduces to sustain his charge.

[1] GEORGE PASOR'S MANUAL LEXICON OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, with a LITTLE BOOK of his concerning the GREEK ACCENTS of the N. T., improved and enlarged under the direction of ANDREW GOETZIUS; By J. F. FISHER, who also has added a PREFACE on the ERRORS of LEXICONS of the N. T.

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He charges the Lexicons of the New Testament with attributing to many words meanings that are wholly false; to others, such as are vague and indefinite; and to some, a strength of meaning which the *usus loquendi* will not warrant. What he means by this last statement, will be best understood when we come to the examples he adduces to sustain his charge.

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1. *Telones* is generally understood to be the Roman tax-gatherer, called publican. The term is uniformly translated *publican*, in the New Testament, where it occurs nineteen times. And *architelones* occurs once, and is rendered *chief of publicans*. Luke xix. 2. But there is reason to doubt whether the Roman publican is really had in view when this term is employed. Many learned men are of the opinion that the reference is to a lower class of persons. There is a little book by Theophrastus, which treats of all the lowest occupations and offices among the ancient Romans; and among them, that of the *telones* is included. He associates that class of persons with the profligate and lewd, after the manner of the Evangelist. Matt. xxi. 13. But we know that the publicans were entrusted with an important office, and were held in high esteem among the people. It is generally assumed that the *telones* was a tax-gatherer; but on looking at the subject attentively, there is not any conclusive evidence of the correctness of this opinion. Did not John say to the publicans, "*Exact* no more than that which is *appointed* you?" Luke iii. 13. No, he merely said, "Do no more than what is ordered." Did not Zaccheus become rich, by the misuse of his office as publican? Luke xix. 2. There is no evidence of this. He was a chief of his class, and might have had a lucrative office; but his confession and pledge are no more than would become any man of wealth, who had resolved on a better life. There is a word which denotes the station of a *telones*, or office where he transacted business; but this settles nothing affecting the present question. It must be admitted that the point is still open for discussion.

2. When Judas was about to betray his Lord, he gave those that were with him a *sign*, *sussemon*, found in Mark xiv. 24; but Matthew calls the same thing by a different name, and uses a more common word for *sign*, *semeion*. Matt. xxvi. 48. Some attempts have been made to show that there was something peculiar about the first of these words, and that it has a different meaning from the other. But there appears to be no good reason for this opinion. The two words

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have the same meaning; only the first is not deemed so elegant a term as the other. It is used only in this instance; while the other is of frequent occurrence, sometimes denoting a miraculous sign, and sometimes a sign not miraculous. Such variations as these, in the Evangelical narrations, are interesting, as showing that they did not quote from each other; and that each wrote according to his own taste and intelligence.

3. *Rapisma*, a word which is found only in Mark xiv. 65. John xviii. 22, xix. 3, denotes a *blow* (*ictum*); but it does not determine what kind of a blow, nor with what instrument it was administered; yet our translators have added, in each instance, "with the palm of the hand," or, "with the hands." It is highly probable that the striking was with the hand; but this is an inference only, and not demanded by the original. In Mark the word is used with *ballein*, a verb, which means to *strike*, and in John it is used with *dedonai*, which means *to give*. We can use both with the word *blows*, but not with the "palm of the hand." The word occurs in the form of a verb, and simply means *to strike*. Matt. v. 39. "If a man *smite* thee on one cheek, turn to him the other." Such smiting would naturally, but not necessarily, be done with the hand. That the soldiers smote Jesus with the hand, when they are presumed to have held other weapons, is not so natural a supposition. The matter is not important, except that all information, tending to illustrate the Bible, is important, to one who loves to study the divine Word.

4. *Arguria*, which is commonly defined *silver money*. That is the literal meaning; but it has two distinct meanings besides this. *First*, it denotes money in general, whether silver or otherwise; and *second*, it denotes a specific amount of money. It appears to be used indefinitely, in the following places: Matt. xxv. 18, 27; xxviii. 12, 15; Luke ix. 3, &c; but definitely, in others: Matt. xxvi. 15; xxvii. 5, 6, 9; Luke xxii. 5; Acts xix. 19.

Not to insist on other instances, the money paid to Judas, the price of his treachery, must have possessed a definite

value. They paid him thirty pieces of silver, — not perhaps precisely that number of pieces; but an amount of money equal to a certain sum thirty times repeated. It is as when we speak of thirty shillings, not meaning a sum of money consisting of thirty shilling pieces; but an amount equal to that. So the books of the exorcists (Acts xix. 19) were worth fifty thousand pieces of silver, — not money consisting of that number of pieces; but their equivalent in any form. It is shown by men who have investigated this subject, that a *piece of silver*, an *argurion*, was equal to the Hebrew *shekel*, or the Attic *tetradram*, or Alexandrian *didrachma*. The same amount is denoted by another term, *stater*, which occurs but once in the New Testament. Matt. xvii. 27. The value of this piece of money, according to Calmet, is not far from our American fifty cents. That it answers to the Hebrew *shekel*, see Gen. xxv. 15, 16; Ex. xxi. 32; xxx. 13, 15.

5. Equally indefinite and uncertain is the common rendering of several articles of dress, mentioned in the New Testament: *Sindon* literally means a *linen garment;* but it also denotes a garment of specific form. Indeed, in actual use, the literal sense is dropped, with one or two exceptions, and another taken in its place. It denotes a *mantle*, or *cloak*, an outside article of dress, of whatever material, thrown on over all the other clothes. This is proved by the use of the word *peribebblemenos*, which denotes the *putting on* of such a garment; and which, our author says, is never used with any other article of dress. It occurs in Mark xiv. 51, xvi. 5, and other places.

6. *Porphura*, a term rendered literally in Mark xv. 17, 20, *purple*, does evidently mean a purple *robe;* as we learn from other passages. The proper name for robe, *himation*, is found in John xxi. 7, and also in xix. 2, 5; and another, *chlamus*, denoting the same, occurs in Matt. xxvii. 28, 31. As in the former example, (*sindon*) the garment is denoted by the material of which it was generally composed; so here the same is denoted by the usual color, *porphura*, or purple.

That all these denote the outer garment, is proved by the

use of the term above given, by which *putting on* this garment was expressed. It is applied to all of them, except the last, *chlamus;* and this is evidently parallel with the others. See Mark xiv. 51, for *sindon;* Acts xii. 8, Rev. iii. 5, for *himation;* Rev. xvii. 4, for *porphura.* Then for *chlamus*, compare Mark xv. 17, 20, with Matt. xxvii. 28, 31.

7. Leaving the outer garment, let us notice one of a different kind. *Ependutes*, it appears, was an under garment (under, when the cloak was on); though the common definitions, as well as translations, leave us wholly in doubt what sort of garment was intended. Jerome calls it the outside *tunic*, using a Latin word; and Theophrastus calls it an outside *chiton*, using a Greek word. But most modern interpreters seem to have lost sight of these definitions. Without doubt, the old Greeks and Romans were accustomed to wear two under garments, or tunics; one of which was next to the body, and was called *hupodutes*, *chitoniskos*, &c; the other, or outer one, *ependutes*. The sindon or porphura was worn over both these. He who lacked the outer tunic, though still having on the under one, was called *achiton*, or naked. This was Peter's condition, John xxi. 7, Mark xiv. 52; and Socrates is so spoken of (Memorab. I. 6, 2). That the *ependutes* was the Roman tunica, our author proves by ancient authorities, such as Cyril, Suidas, Phavorinus, &c. The *hupodutes*, or the garment next to the body, is not mentioned in the New Testament; and the *ependutes* but once, John xxi. 7. *Chiton*, denoting the same thing, is more frequent. As the cloak is known by the verb, which expresses *putting* it *on*, so the ependutes or chiton has a verb exclusively appropriated to that. See Acts xii. 8. These are never interchanged. The difference between the cloak and the tunic is clearly indicated by the passage in Matt. v. 40. "If any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, (chiton) let him have thy cloak, (himation) also." If a man sue thee at the law, and take the least valuable of the two things, let him have the more valuable. The chiton is generally translated *coat*, though it bore but slight resemblance to that which we designate in

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The only qualification which we would make to what our author says, on the foregoing articles of dress, is, that, besides the definite application of these terms to specific articles, some of them, at least *himation*, are sometimes used in a general way, for garments of any kind. Likewise the terms employed for putting on these several garments, besides a specific use, have another more indefinite. The one, said to be appropriated exclusively to the cloak or mantle, is used in such passages as these: "I was naked, and ye *clothed* me." Matt. xxv. 36, 38, 43. "Solomon, in all his glory, *was* not *arrayed* like one of these." Matt. vi. 29. The other, which denotes putting on the chiton, is the term also generally employed, where *girding on* the garment is mentioned. See Luke xii. 35, 37; xvii. 8; Eph. vi. 14, &c. Some of these are used in the Septuagint, but not in all cases with so distinct an application.

8. Again *oikoumene*, rendered *world* in our version, (Matt. xxiv. 14, Luke ii. 1, iv. 5, xxi. 26, &c.) is commonly defined, the *habitable earth*, (*terram habitabilem*) which perhaps is as near a correct rendering as any; but it gives us no definite idea of the extent of meaning belonging to the word.

The *Roman world* would have been more accurate; for, without doubt, it denotes the Roman empire, and sometimes no more than a part of that empire. Plainly the extent of application must be judged of, by the connection and circumstances of the passages where the word occurs. When Luke writes that Augustus, the emperor, sent forth an edict that "all the world" (πασα ἡ οἰκουμένη) should be taxed, or rather registered with a view to taxation, Luke ii. 4, it is evident the term is to be taken, either as denoting the Roman

empire, or some part of that empire. It could not denote more. But when the historian of those times tells us that the census did not extend to the whole Roman empire, but only to the land of Judea, then it follows that the "whole world" of Luke, must be only Judea. In Acts xi. 28, there is a similar phrase, meaning *the whole world*, (ὅλη ἡ οἰκουμένη) over which a famine extended in the days of Claudius Cæsar. The word does not occur in the Septuagint.

9. The phrase commonly rendered *hardness of heart*, (πώρωθις τῆς καρδίας) in strict conformity to the literal sense of the language, does really mean no such thing. There is no evidence that the persons referred to were *hard-hearted*, in the modern sense of that expression. It denotes a low, degraded mental condition, including, it may be, hardness of heart; but this last is not specially intended. Our Saviour tells the Jews that, on account of the hardness of their hearts, Moses had given them certain precepts. But it would be difficult to conjecture what hardness of heart, literally understood, had to do with the precepts referred to; though understood as a low moral and spiritual condition, it had everything to do with them. The same thing is denoted by another form, *sklerokardia*, having the same literal meaning, and, to all appearance, the same true meaning. The first of these expressions occurs in Eph. iv. 18, Mark iii. 5, Rom. xi. 20. In the verb form, it is found in Mark vi. 52, viii. 17, John xii. 40, Rom. xi. 7, 2 Cor. iii. 14. The second form is found in Matt. xix. 8, Mark x. 5, xvi. 14.

It is exceedingly important that we understand the Hebraisms of the New Testament. These must be explained, not according to the literal signification of the words, but according to usage. It should be remembered, that, though the language of the New Testament is Greek, it was written by Hebrews, and that the style is Hebrew. The same is true of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament; both for the reason that the translators were Hebrews, and that they were translating the Hebrew language into Greek. Besides, they seem to have made no attempts to avoid the Hebrew idioms.

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It is on this account, mainly, that this version is so useful in the interpretation of the New Testament. No person, who would thoroughly understand either the Old Testament or the New, should neglect the study of the Septuagint, or Alexandrian version.

10. The Hebrews had a very peculiar way of using their verbs. In some instances the verb is repeated, to all appearance for the sake of emphasis; but our author maintains, in opposition to most interpreters, that no special emphasis was intended. The form of the verb that is added, is sometimes the participle, but more generally the infinitive mode. In some instances, a noun is employed in the place of the verb. A few examples will show what is here intended; for there are some instances in the New Testament corresponding to those in the Old. "I have seen, I have seen, the affliction of thy people." Acts vii. 34. "In blessing I will bless thee; and in multiplying I will multiply thy seed." Gen. xxii. 17. "By hearing ye shall hear; and seeing ye shall see," &c. Matt. xiii. 14. "With desire have I desired to eat this passover." Luke xxii. 15. "Let him die the death;" literally, "With death let him die." Matt. xv. 4. That no more is meant by this form than the ordinary one, is proved by the Septuagint, where, ordinarily, no emphasis appears in the translation. Moses is made to say, in Ex. v. 23, thou *hast* not *delivered* thy people "*at all.*" The Septuagint has it simply, "thou *hast* not *delivered* thy people." And there are many similar instances. There can be no doubt that the double form occurs many times in the Hebrew Bible, where no special emphasis can be detected. That there are *no* instances of a different kind, we would not like to affirm. We concede, however, that more stress has been placed on this usage than the facts will warrant.

11. Another example. We read that Moses was *exceedingly fair* (*fair to God* is the literal sense, (ἀστεῖος τῷ θεῷ). *Fair by the favor of God* is the meaning, according to some. Those who understand that there are Hebraisms in the New Testament, know that our version is correct. The name of

God is used merely for emphasis. The Old Testament has numerous examples of this kind. Jonah calls Nineveh an *exceedingly great city*, (πόλις μεγάλη τῷ θεῷ) not great *made so by God*, but exceedingly great, as the common version has it. Jonah iii. 3.

But the following phrase requires a word of explanation. "Jesus was exceedingly sorrowful, even unto death." Matt. xxvi. 38. That he was exceedingly sorrowful, is all that the passage means. The added clause, "even unto death," is for emphasis merely. Otherwise the passage is not true, — the sorrow of Jesus was not literally even unto death. The Lord inquired of Jonah if he did well to be angry. His reply was, "I do well to be angry, even unto death." Jonah iv. 9.

Many other Hebraisms might be gathered together, from the New Testament, some of which are understood, and some not; but we refrain, and submit what is written to the candor and judgment of the reader. Some of the foregoing criticisms are not immensely important; but no one who loves the divine Word is willing to be ignorant, even in small matters; if any matters can be so called, which have reference to our moral and spiritual interests. And, in the Scriptures, the references to local and secular objects, by their connection with the authenticity of the Bible, and their fitness to illustrate moral truths, have an important bearing on our moral and spiritual welfare. So many of these references, apparently of a trifling nature, have been found to fill an important office, in the defence of revealed truth, that we have long since ceased to find fault with them, and have come to regard them as an essential part of the divine economy.

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Article V.

Rationalism versus *Miracles.*

The miracles recorded in the New Testament have been assailed by skeptics of all schools from the time when they were originally witnessed as the facts of Christian History. Animated by an overweening desire to bring everything within the scope of positive science — to admit nothing as true which may not be readily explained by a reference to the known laws of Nature, many eminent minds — wise within a certain sphere of thought — have attempted to set aside these miracles altogether, as being opposed to the demonstrations of a pure reason. Accordingly a multitude of theories, aiming to destroy the validity of all miraculous acts, have been propounded; some denying these acts on the ground of abstract impossibility, others perverting the historical relation with forced and unnatural interpretations, and others attributing the whole to the machinations of imposture or the delusions of an idle credulity. It will be the design of this article to examine some of the more prominent theories which are now advanced against the Christian miracles; and in this examination I shall have occasion to notice, at some length, the hypotheses of the latest and perhaps most popular representative of the rationalistic school — Ernest Renan.

This author proposes to "banish miracle from history," not, as he says, "in the name of this or that philosophy, but in the name of constant experience." He does not contend, as many skeptics have done, that miracle is impossible in the nature of things, but affirms simply, "there has been hitherto no miracle proved." In taking this position a retreat has been made from the only strong ground on which Skepticism has ever been able to make its entrenchments. If we say that miracle is, in the very nature of the case, impossible, we then go to the last extent of denial, throwing the burden of proof on those who accept the miracle as a fact; but if, retreating from this ground, we say simply that miracles are

opposed to the experience of mankind, we then, having acknowledged their possibility in the abstract sense, place ourselves under the necessity of disproving the facts by which, if admitted, they would become parts of experience. This is a necessity, however, of which Renan seems to be entirely unconscious. Assuming at the outset that no miracle has been proved, without even attempting to invalidate the testimony which nearly all critics have regarded as proof, he lays down at the outset this principle of historical criticism: "that a supernatural relation cannot be accepted as such, that it always implies credulity or imposture, that the duty of the historian is to interpret it, and to seek what portion of truth and what portion of error it may contain." [1]

Let us see by a brief examination whether this rule of criticism will stand on its own merits. A supernatural relation, says Renan, cannot be accepted. Why? Because, as he tells us, the facts related are opposed to experience. But how can this assumption be sustained, unless it be first shown that the reported facts are not real? If the facts be allowed to stand as they are, without being disproved, do they not naturally become incorporated in the experience of mankind? Before it can be said that any alleged fact is opposed to experience, we must first dispose of the fact itself, since this, if permitted to remain, would, even though it were the first of its order, make a new experience which we should be obliged to recognize. To affirm, then, that the occurrences of a supernatural relation are contrary to what men have hitherto experienced, is simply, as it is termed in logical phrase, a *petitio principii*. It is merely equivalent to saying that those occurrences were not real; and this is the very point to be proved, since, if they were real, they make in themselves the experience that is denied. Facts, so far as they are shown to be such, must be in all cases the criterion by which experience is to be judged; and hence no principle of criticism can be true which arbitrarily sets up certain limits to experience, and then re-

[1] Life of Jesus, page 45.

Article V.

Rationalism versus *Miracles.*

The miracles recorded in the New Testament have been assailed by skeptics of all schools from the time when they were originally witnessed as the facts of Christian History. Animated by an overweening desire to bring everything within the scope of positive science — to admit nothing as true which may not be readily explained by a reference to the known laws of Nature, many eminent minds — wise within a certain sphere of thought — have attempted to set aside these miracles altogether, as being opposed to the demonstrations of a pure reason. Accordingly a multitude of theories, aiming to destroy the validity of all miraculous acts, have been propounded; some denying these acts on the ground of abstract impossibility, others perverting the historical relation with forced and unnatural interpretations, and others attributing the whole to the machinations of imposture or the delusions of an idle credulity. It will be the design of this article to examine some of the more prominent theories which are now advanced against the Christian miracles; and in this examination I shall have occasion to notice, at some length, the hypotheses of the latest and perhaps most popular representative of the rationalistic school — Ernest Renan.

This author proposes to "banish miracle from history," not, as he says, "in the name of this or that philosophy, but in the name of constant experience." He does not contend, as many skeptics have done, that miracle is impossible in the nature of things, but affirms simply, "there has been hitherto no miracle proved." In taking this position a retreat has been made from the only strong ground on which Skepticism has ever been able to make its entrenchments. If we say that miracle is, in the very nature of the case, impossible, we then go to the last extent of denial, throwing the burden of proof on those who accept the miracle as a fact; but if, retreating from this ground, we say simply that miracles are

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[1] Life of Jesus, page 45.

jects the relation of all facts which may be outside of those limits.

Again: it is a circumstance unfavorable to our author's rule of criticism, that a supernatural occurrence is no more opposed to "constant experience" than many natural occurrences may be. On the 7th of August, 1807, a vessel propelled by steam was seen for the first time leaving a wharf in New York, and making its way against the river-current in the direction of Albany. Let it be supposed that the experiment had never been repeated, but that the occurrence had been subsequently introduced into the history of the time as an unexplainable wonder. Should not Renan, on the principle of criticism which he has laid down, declare that the relation of such an occurrence must not be accepted as real, it being essentially different from anything which the world had ever seen or known? Again, in the year 1844, the public was astonished to learn that an intelligible communication had been opened between distant places through the medium of the electric telegraph. Let us suppose that, after the first successful operation, all concerned in the invention of this instrument had suddenly died, and that nothing had been left to the world but the historical relation by which the wonder was made known. Would not the history in this case be opposed to the "constant experience" of mankind, and ought it not on this account, according to the rule proposed, to be instantly rejected? It is evident that, in the cases mentioned, there is as wide a departure from the course of ordinary experience as in any supernatural event. Probably the mass of people could have given no better explanation of those scientific wonders at the time of their introduction, than they can give now of the turning of water into wine. So far, then, as experience is concerned, the natural may be often as far beyond our reach as the supernatural; and hence if we adopt the principle that the relation of miraculous events cannot be accepted, on the ground that they are contrary to the common experiences of men, we shall be forced by this principle to reject every account of natural developments which may not

have been incorporated in the general stock of human knowledge. We shall scarcely be justified in adopting a rule which, by a legitimate application, leads to this absurdity. The truth is, that, when the abstract possibility of miracles has once been admitted, we have lost the first privilege of denial, saying in effect that they *may* occur; and at this point we are obliged to accept the historical relation in which they are presented, on the same evidence which would be sufficient to substantiate the history of other occurrences.

Having seen that the rule of criticism under review will not stand on its own merits as a principle, we may now notice the method of special pleading by which the author attempts to sustain it. In his introduction to the "Life of Jesus" he says:

"Let a thaumaturgist present himself to-morrow with testimony sufficiently important to merit our attention; let him announce that he is able, I will suppose, to raise the dead; what would be done? A commission composed of physiologists, physicians, chemists, persons experienced in historical criticism, would be appointed. This commission would choose the corpse, make certain that death was real, designate the hall in which the experiment should be made, and regulate the whole system of precautions necessary to leave no room for doubt. If, under such conditions, the resurrection should be performed, a probability almost equal to certainty would be attained. . . . But who does not see that no miracle was ever performed under such conditions; that always hitherto the thaumaturgist has chosen the subject of the experiment, chosen the means, chosen the public; that, moreover, it is, in most cases, the people themselves who from the undeniable need which they feel of seeing in great events and great men something divine, create the marvellous legends afterwards."[2]

Here the position is taken that a miracle, in order to be proved, must be performed under certain prescribed conditions, which are to be chosen, not by the operator himself, but by persons qualified and appointed for this purpose; and because miracles are not known to have occurred under such

[2] Page 44.

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conditions, the conclusion is that "there has been hitherto no miracle proved," and that, consequently, "a supernatural relation cannot be accepted as such." This mode of reasoning, in which there is some plausibility, would perhaps hold good, if the power to produce miracles belonged innately, as the author seems to suppose, to the individuals through whom they are performed, this power being under the control of the will — exercised or withheld at pleasure. But unfortunately for our author's argument, no claim was ever made by the persons whose history he attempts to write, which could lead us to suppose that they either had, or professed to have, any power in themselves to produce the wonders by which they were accompanied. Jesus declares, "I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, he doeth the works;" and the Apostle Peter, when the lame man had been cured at the gate of the temple, said to the people, "Why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by our own power or holiness we had made this man to walk?" The only idea, then, consistent with the claim made by Jesus and the Apostles, is that the miracle-working power was not inherent in any individual, but that it proceeded from a source entirely independent of the human will. This, as will be seen, entirely changes the premise on which Renan bases his conclusions, and from which he derives his rule of historical criticism. It can no longer be said that a miracle is proved only when performed under certain prescribed conditions, since, if it be a miracle at all, it is wrought by a power from which no such conditions can be exacted. So long as it is taken for granted that miraculous acts are dependent on a human will, it may perhaps be properly asked that those acts shall be produced under any given set of circumstances that may be arranged for them. But neither Christ nor the Apostles were *thaumaturgists* in the sense in which this word is understood. They did not profess to produce wonders through any power of their own, but claimed simply to be media through whom the breathings of a divine energy were transmitted. With what consistency, then, can we arrange the circumstances under which such

wonders shall be performed? The individuals who appear in them not being the real actors in the case, no conditions certainly can be prescribed for them; and there is no one, be he wise or simple, who will carry the pride of intellect so far as to dictate when and where the power of God shall be manifested. If, therefore, the wonders of the Christian age did not conform to the external arrangements provided by Renan; if they were not produced in a public hall, and were not subjected to the scrutiny of a scientific commission, this fact will hardly justify us in accepting the principle that miracle must be banished from history.

True, however, to the rule adopted, Renan, in compiling the "Life of Jesus," even while resorting to the Gospels as the grand storehouse of facts, places upon them such an interpretation as to eliminate from their pages everything of a supernatural character. According to the insinuating statements of this author, the miracles in which Christ appears as the visible agent, are to be explained for the most part on the principle of imposture; or, what is equivalent to this, those miracles are referred to as a play on the credulity of the time —"a concession which the necessity of the hour wrung from him." It is charitably supposed that, at the outset, Jesus intended and wished to be simply a religious reformer, but that, having advanced to a certain point in his career where the demand for miraculous works began to be importunate, he was obliged, in yielding to the exactions of a prevalent superstition, to adopt a method of promulgating his doctrines against which his own purer nature revolted. As miracles were at that time considered one of the indispensable signs of a divine career, it is the opinion of Renan that "Jesus had therefore to choose between these two alternatives, either to renounce his mission, or to become a wonder-worker." In accepting the latter alternative, which our author mildly excuses as "a violence done him by his time," it is supposed that Jesus took upon himself a character which it was "difficult to sustain" and the necessities of which "became each day more exacting." While in a few simple cases of disease,

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where the injuries were not of a decided character, he is admitted to have been honestly employed, "persuaded that the touch of his garment, the imposition of his hands, did good to the sick," we are made distinctly to understand, in the hypothesis under review, that he had entered upon a course which would require in the end all the aids and subtleties of imposture.

Under such impressions we now approach the great event which occurred at Bethany — the raising of Lazarus. Our author seems to regard this as having sufficient importance to merit an application of his peculiar hypothesis. "The other miracles of Jesus," he says, "were incidental acts accepted spontaneously by faith, magnified by popular fame, and which, when passed, were not re-examined. This was really an event for which public notoriety was claimed, and by which they hoped to close the mouths of the Pharisees." It is not denied by this writer that there was in the event alluded to a certain semblance of reality. He even thinks it probable that "the prodigy in question was not one of those purely legendary miracles for which no one is responsible" — that, in other words, "something took place at Bethany which was regarded as a resurrection." But, after this admission, we are to observe how insinuatingly he applies to the case his theory of imposture; and in order that we may not do injustice to the manner in which the occurrence is described, we will place before our readers the very words in which he has chosen to convey his thought:

"Wearied out by the ill reception with which the kingdom of God met in the capital, the friends of Jesus desired a great miracle which should have a powerful effect upon Hierosolymite incredulity. The resurrection of a man well known at Jerusalem would be more convincing than anything else. . . . . The family of Bethany may have been led, almost without suspecting it, to the important act which was desired. Jesus was there adored. It seems that Lazarus was sick, and that it was indeed in consequence of a message from his alarmed sisters, that Jesus left Perea. The joy of his coming might recall Lazarus to life. Perhaps also the ardent

desire to close the mouth of those who furiously denied the divine mission of their friend, may have carried these enthusiastic persons beyond all bounds. Perhaps Lazarus, still pale from his sickness, caused himself to be swathed in grave clothes, as one dead, and shut up in his family tomb. . . . Jesus (still following the hypothesis above enunciated) desired to see once more him whom he had loved, and, the stone having been removed, Lazarus came forth with his grave clothes and his head bound about with a napkin. This apparition must naturally have been regarded by all as a resurrection. . . . Thoroughly persuaded that Jesus was a worker of miracles, Lazarus and his two sisters may have aided the performance of one, as so many pious men, convinced of the truth of their religion, have sought to triumph over human obstinacy by means of the weakness of which they were well aware." [3]

The hypothesis here advanced as an explanation of the miracle at Bethany, is, in substance, that Lazarus did not really die, but caused himself to be bound in grave clothes and placed in the tomb, with a view of giving afterward to those who should witness it, the appearance of a miracle; that, in short, the family which Jesus loved deliberately planned a deception of the worst possible character, for the purpose of increasing the reputation of one whose interests they wished to promote, while Jesus himself suffered the deception to be practiced, and indeed participated in it, having no power, as the author states in another place, "to moderate the avidity of the multitude and of his own disciples for the marvellous."

That we may be able to place a just estimate on this hypothesis, let us be reminded that the only account of the transaction alluded to — the raising of Lazarus — is that contained in the narrative of John the Evangelist, and that, consequently, there can be no genuine explanation of the transaction itself, except that which is in harmony with the several facts there related. We have no right, in such a case, to take an excursion into the realms of imagination, and allow ourselves to dream of what, by some remote possibility, might

[3] Life of Jesus, pages 303-4-5.

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have been. Our jurisdiction lies within the limits of a detailed statement, and it is simply an unwarrantable assumption to go outside of that statement to find suppositions which are at variance with it. What, then, are some of the facts connected with this miracle, as given in the account of the Evangelist?

The first fact is, that Jesus, having been informed, while at a distance, that Lazarus was sick, declared that the sickness would "not be unto death" — that is, would not result in final or continued death, but would be "for the glory of God." In this expression he evidently refers to the miracle which was afterward to be witnessed, and through which many were induced to believe in his divine mission. Can we reconcile with this the supposition that there was no miracle at all in the case, but only a sinful deception? The second fact is, that Jesus declared to his disciples plainly, before coming to Bethany, that Lazarus was dead. This statement, we are to observe, was made at a time when there could be no collusion between Jesus and the sisters of Lazarus, he being still at a distance and they remaining at their own home; and yet we find it to be in exact accord with the exclamation to which Martha gave utterance on his arrival, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died!" How can the statement of Jesus in this instance be accounted for as harmonizing with the subsequent exclamation of Martha, it having been given in advance of any possible pre-arranged plan between them, unless we suppose it to have been simply the expression of a fact which was already known and mourned over at Bethany? The third fact is, that Jesus coming near to the place where his friend was buried, "found that he had lain in the grave four days already." Now if Lazarus, instead of being dead, was seriously ill, as the supposition is, the placing of him in a cold, dark tomb, closed with a stone, was, to say the least, a somewhat hazardous experiment, especially as it was quite uncertain to what length the deception might need to be carried, it not being known how long the arrival of Jesus would be delayed. Is it reasonable to suppose that the

personal interest which the sisters may have felt for Jesus, would so far overcome the instinct of natural affection as to lead them to incur the danger of making a simulated death real? But there remains another fact, perhaps of even greater force. When the stone had been removed from the sepulcher, Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, "Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me." Can it be supposed that the name of God, pronounced so reverently, could be uttered on such an occasion as an aid to a deception? — and if not, could Jesus have spoken these words of thanksgiving, unless he had felt the presence of a divine power — a power which, in answer to his prayer, was about to quicken the inanimate form of Lazarus and bring him forth to the embrace of his friends? Nothing can be more conclusive than that the theory of imposture in this case is opposed to every prominent fact stated by the Evangelist. If, therefore, we accept the facts so stated — and without them we are not qualified to make any explanations whatever with regard to the case in question — then we must reject an hypothesis which, by connecting Jesus with an act of fraud, takes away what is most lovely in his character, while it nullifies, or changes into frivolous absurdity, what is most remarkable in his life.

Let it be understood that we here ask nothing for Jesus on the ground of educational reverence. He is to be defended against the charge of imposture, not by any claim which at this late time we may make for him, but by the facts which constitute the frame-work of his history. Let those facts speak to us in their own simple language, not being distorted by prejudice nor disguised by any preconceived theory, but standing forth in their own clear prominence as links in a connected chain of providence, and we cannot fail to derive from them an ideal of character, which, while it embraces an assemblage of many virtues, is radiant with sincerity and truth. Not only is the idea of imposture as connected with the miracle at Bethany inconsistent with the circumstances attending that event, but it is also inconsistent with that loftiness of nature which is universally conceded to the founder

have been. Our jurisdiction lies within the limits of a detailed statement, and it is simply an unwarrantable assumption to go outside of that statement to find suppositions which are at variance with it. What, then, are some of the facts connected with this miracle, as given in the account of the Evangelist?

The first fact is, that Jesus, having been informed, while at a distance, that Lazarus was sick, declared that the sickness would "not be unto death" — that is, would not result in final or continued death, but would be "for the glory of God." In this expression he evidently refers to the miracle which was afterward to be witnessed, and through which many were induced to believe in his divine mission. Can we reconcile with this the supposition that there was no miracle at all in the case, but only a sinful deception? The second fact is, that Jesus declared to his disciples plainly, before coming to Bethany, that Lazarus was dead. This statement, we are to observe, was made at a time when there could be no collusion between Jesus and the sisters of Lazarus, he being still at a distance and they remaining at their own home; and yet we find it to be in exact accord with the exclamation to which Martha gave utterance on his arrival, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my brother had not died!" How can the statement of Jesus in this instance be accounted for as harmonizing with the subsequent exclamation of Martha, it having been given in advance of any possible pre-arranged plan between them, unless we suppose it to have been simply the expression of a fact which was already known and mourned over at Bethany? The third fact is, that Jesus coming near to the place where his friend was buried, "found that he had lain in the grave four days already." Now if Lazarus, instead of being dead, was seriously ill, as the supposition is, the placing of him in a cold, dark tomb, closed with a stone, was, to say the least, a somewhat hazardous experiment, especially as it was quite uncertain to what length the deception might need to be carried, it not being known how long the arrival of Jesus would be delayed. Is it reasonable to suppose that the

personal interest which the sisters may have felt for Jesus, would so far overcome the instinct of natural affection as to lead them to incur the danger of making a simulated death real? But there remains another fact, perhaps of even greater force. When the stone had been removed from the sepulcher, Jesus lifted up his eyes and said, "Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me." Can it be supposed that the name of God, pronounced so reverently, could be uttered on such an occasion as an aid to a deception? — and if not, could Jesus have spoken these words of thanksgiving, unless he had felt the presence of a divine power — a power which, in answer to his prayer, was about to quicken the inanimate form of Lazarus and bring him forth to the embrace of his friends? Nothing can be more conclusive than that the theory of imposture in this case is opposed to every prominent fact stated by the Evangelist. If, therefore, we accept the facts so stated — and without them we are not qualified to make any explanations whatever with regard to the case in question — then we must reject an hypothesis which, by connecting Jesus with an act of fraud, takes away what is most lovely in his character, while it nullifies, or changes into frivolous absurdity, what is most remarkable in his life.

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of Christianity, even by those who deny the authority of his teachings. The separate, personal acts of an individual, in cases where there is room for suspicion or mistrust, are to be explained, until the absolute proof is found, by the general tenor of the life. Even in matters of civil jurisprudence, it is deemed legitimate, in rebutting a charge of crime, to introduce any testimony which may show that the person accused has exhibited a uniformly good character; and such testimony would be accepted as *prima facie* evidence in the case. What, then, was the character sustained by Jesus previous to the time when, in the opinion of some, he incurred the suspicion of having countenanced imposture. On this point the testimony of Renan himself is entirely sufficient, and we shall need no other witness. He says, on page 104 of the "Life of Jesus," that "the highest consciousness of God which ever existed in the breast of humanity was that of Jesus;" and on page 116 of the same work he has the following: "Had Jesus died at the period which we have reached in his career, there would have been in his life no page which wounds us; but, grander in the eyes of God, he would have remained unknown of men; . . . and the world had not profited by the immense moral superiority which his Father had imparted to him. . . In morality, as in art, words are nothing, deeds are everything. . . . The palm belongs to him who has been mighty in word and in work, who has felt the truth, and, at the price of his blood, has made it triumph. Jesus, from this double point of view, is without equal; his glory remains complete, and will be renewed forever." Are we to suppose that one to whom such a meed of commendation is given, would descend from his lofty position to make a tool of human credulity? Is it to be imagined that one who had in himself "the highest consciousness of God," would resort to acts of fraud for the purpose of increasing his own personal reputation? If, for a period of thirty years, Jesus had preserved "the immense moral superiority which his Father had imparted to him," can we think that he would stand before the tomb of Lazarus, loudly pretending to call him back to

life, when he must have known, if the occurrence were not real, that he was intrusted with no such power?

But the theory of imposture by which Renan has attempted o explain the miracles of Christ, was not found sufficient to account for the remarkable events that occurred subsequently to the crucifixion. Accordingly our author, to meet this new state of affairs, has been under the necessity of creating another hypothesis, which, changing somewhat the ground of speculation, suggests other methods and influences by which the general work of deception might be carried on. This is the hypothesis of Delusion. The supposed fact which the author attempts to verify, is that the remarkable events on which the progress of Christianity was dependent after the death of its founder, were the result of certain hallucinations which spread, like some contagious disease, from one to another. Still under the impression that nothing of a supernatural character could have occurred, and yet unable to resist the evidence which shows that something very special and signal did occur to mark the early Christian age, he seems to have adopted the explanation before mentioned, not as a natural conclusion, but as a theory to which he has been driven in extremity, and in which all the logical inferences that might be derived from the circumstances of the case, are boldly set at defiance. We will refer, in illustration, to a single instance in which the hypothesis alluded to is applied, this being all that the limits of this article will allow, viz., the resurrection of Jesus.

In this case, Jesus is supposed to have been resurrected only in appearance. That is, the idea or wish entertained by his immediate followers, gave birth to an hallucination which was shared and copied by others until it came to be accepted quite generally as an actual fact. Let us glance at the history of this occurrence as given by Renan. Mary Magdalene, coming first to the sepulchre, discovers that the body is gone. In her surprise and grief she runs hastily to Peter and John, and informs them of the fact. They, repairing at once to the tomb, find the story confirmed, and return to their homes overwhelmed with grief. To give the words of our author,

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"Mary remained alone at the edge of the cave. She wept copiously; one sole thought preöccupied her mind: where had they put the body? Her woman's heart went no further, from her desire to clasp again in her arms the beloved corpse. Suddenly she hears a light rustling behind her. There is a man standing. At first she believes it to be the gardener. 'Oh!' she says, 'if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, that I may take him away.' For the only answer, she thinks that she hears herself called by her name, Mary! It was the voice that had so often thrilled her before. It was the accent of Jesus. 'Oh, my master!' she cries. She is about to touch him. . . The light vision gives way and says to her, 'Touch me not.' Little by little the shadow disappears. But the miracle of love is accomplished. That which Cephas could not do, Mary has done; she has been able to draw life, sweet and penetrating words, from the empty tomb."[4]

Now what Renan would have us understand by this version of the narrative, is that Mary in reality beheld only the vision of her own imagination; that she only dreamed she saw the form of Jesus, and only thought she heard herself called by name. Hence in further explanation he says: "Peter only saw the empty cave and the linen cloth and the napkin. Only Mary loved enough to pass the bounds of nature, and revive the shade of the perfect master." The first witness to the resurrection being impeached in this easy manner, it was not difficult, by making use of the same sweeping assumptions, to dispose of all others. Indeed, the experience of Mary is cited as the origin and foundation of all similar experiences that were subsequently received in attestation of the same general fact. Because Mary dreamed that she saw the form of Jesus, others dreamed to the same effect; because she, in the fervor of her great love, fancied she heard the voice of the Master, others became imbued with the same fancy, and were not slow to become subjects of a similar hallucination. In this manner, as the hypothesis runs, the resurrection of Jesus was finally established. "In these kinds of marvellous crises," says Renan, "to see after the others

[4] The Apostles, page 60.

is nothing; all the merit is in seeing for the first time, for the others afterwards model their visions on the received type. . . . The shadow created by the delicate sensibility of Magdalene wanders still on the earth. Queen and patroness of idealists, Magdalene knew better than any one how to assert her dream, and impose on every one the vision of her passionate soul." [5]

Here let us pause to take an analytical view of the hypothesis so fearlessly asserted; and in doing so we must revert to the circumstances under which Mary received her first impressions of the resurrection. It appears that, as she stood by the empty sepulcher, her mind was absorbed by one thought — the absence of the "beloved corpse." As yet the possibility of again beholding her Lord as a living being had not suggested itself to her. She was then thinking only of the body. But as she stood weeping, she saw, according to the narrative of John, two angels, one sitting at the head and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain. When they inquired the cause of her grief, she, still intent on the one thought which absorbed her, answered, "Because they have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." At this moment she turned and saw Jesus standing. Now, taking the theory of hallucination, we ask, where was the mental cause of this apparition? It is only in accordance with psychological law to suppose that in all cases of imaginative hallucination, there must be a previously conceived thought to act as the agent. In the present case, however, it does not appear that any such thought had been conceived. Mary was not expecting to see Jesus alive — she was looking only for the corpse. Even, then, if we admit that she had power to externalize an image corresponding with the predominant thought of her own mind, she would have seen in this instance not the living Jesus, but the dead Christ which she so ardently sought. We must be careful here to follow the line of logical reasoning. To say that Mary intensely wished to see Jesus alive, and therefore saw him,

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Then there is another fact to be noticed. Mary in seeing Jesus did not at first recognize him; she mistook him in the early morning light for the gardener, and it was only when she heard her own name pronounced with an accent which never could be forgotten, that she fell at his feet and cried "Master!" Does this appear like hallucination? Can we conceive of a delusion in which the mind creates its own image, and then does not recognize the image when created? Is it not a singular circumstance that Mary, through her great love, should "revive the shade of the perfect master," and then should not immediately know the shade which she herself had evoked? Certainly if, in the scene now contemplated, the witness projected the figure which she saw from her own excited fancy, we must suppose she would be able to recognize that figure at once, it being essentially her own creation. Since this was not the case, the recognition of the figure being delayed until its identity was confirmed by a voice, we have a right to conclude that the form beheld was something apart from the mind of the witness, and something which her own imagination had no agency in producing.

But let us follow still farther the course of our author's theory. Having taken it for granted that the first witness in this case was a victim of delusion, he presents us with the idea that her mistake was copied by, and imposed upon, all succeeding witnesses. Is there not some demand made on our credulity here? To say with the author of "The Apostles" that "Magdalene knew better than any one how to assert her dream," is easy; but we shall find it far more difficult to understand how the vision which came to her as a personal experience could be so communicated to others as to be equally personal to them. The principle of mental con

tagion, as stated by Renan, will not be sufficient to explain this. While that principle may possibly be exhibited in an assembly of persons whose minds are engrossed by a common expectation, it will scarcely hold good as applied to the little Christian band, whose members, after the crucifixion, were separated, scattered, and discouraged, and who, not knowing what to expect, would be likely to await in a somewhat skeptical state of mind any preternatural development; and accordingly it is written that, when Mary and the women with her told the Apostles what had been seen and heard, "their words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not." Besides, as appears from the record, the risen Jesus was beheld at different times, under different circumstances, and by different individuals — on the journey to Emmaus, by the sea of Tiberias, in the room where the disciples sat at meat, and, finally, at Bethany, where he was parted from them. In all these instances sufficient time and opportunity were given to make the evidence as regards his actual presence complete; and how exacting the demand was for such evidence, even on the part of the Apostles themselves, may be inferred from the words of Thomas, "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe." To declare, then, in view of such facts, that those who professed to be witnesses of the resurrection were imposed upon by what is called a woman's dream, not only taking that dream as a substitute for evidence, but so completely reproducing it in their own minds as to give the full impression of reality, is to affirm a miracle which is known only to Rationalists, and which the majority of Christians are scarcely credulous enough to accept.

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Article VI.

The Crusades.

PART SECOND.

The enthusiasm created by the Council of Auvergne was diffused throughout Europe. Everywhere, all capable of bearing arms prepared themselves for the contest; and in all places were heard the words, "He who will not take up the cross and follow me, is not worthy of me." Undoubtedly many took the cross from the sincerest motives, and were inflamed with the idea of battling for God and the church. But not a few sought in the crusades the expiation and forgiveness of sins that they thought were sinking them to perdition. Others assumed the sacred symbol to escape the civil processes with which they were threatened for various misdeeds. Still others hoped for honor and wealth, believing it possible even to carve for themselves kingdoms with their swords. Many renowned warriors had no other ambition than the glory they might attain, and numbers were hurried away simply by excitement and the powerful force of example. The clergy, in large numbers, and of all ranks, from begging Friar in woollen gown to the proud Prelate in silken robes, also united with the military powers, and preparted for the Holy War, with as various motives as influenced the most worldly. There were those, indeed, with whom the glory of God, the advancement of His church on earth, the redemption of the holy places, and even the conversion of the Moslems, were the burden of their prayers and the incitements which led their steps towards the East. But many looked for rich settlements, and positions of honor, even for episcopates. Withal, wild fanaticism and gross superstition had their effect. To further the object of the war, and to keep alive the flame that was kindled, the most marvellous stories were disseminated, and obtained credence. Crosses were seen blazing in the heavens. Dreams were dreamed of the won-

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drous achievements which they should obtain. Many were miraculously marked on their bodies with the sign of the cross, as though with red-hot pincers. A certain Abbot, to obtain means for joining in the campaign, had his forehead marked in this way, and upon showing it to the people, was supplied with all that he required. According to *Neander*, he subsequently became Archbishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine.

Day by day the proportions of the armies of the Lord were enlarged. Those whom age, or other infirmities, kept from the ranks, bewailed the severity of their lot. So universal became the enthusiasm, that delicate women and young children imprinted the cross upon their flesh, to show that it was the will of God that they also should share in the dangers and glories of the great movement. Monks deserted their cloisters; hermits and anchorites emerged from forests and deserts; sinners of abandoned character came forth from their retreats; even the vilest, of both sexes, flocked to the standard of the cross. Of course, the greater proportion of the lower conditions depended on making their way to Palestine through the generosity of others. In fact, one of the most extraordinary features of this crusade was the utter recklessness of the multitudes who engaged in it, in regard to provision for transportation, for clothing, for arms, for shelter, even for necessary food. Many took no thought whatever for these things. They appeared to rely on miracles, through which all essentials should be supplied, and they be brought to their destination in triumph. Those of more sober views provided themselves as best they could. The gentry, and all who held possessions, parted with their estates, in whole or in part, often at ruinous sacrifices, that they might have gold and silver for their needs.

The time for the departure of the expedition was fixed for the end of spring, A. D. 1096. But it was anticipated by the eagerness of the Crusaders. As early as the beginning of March, the nations began to empty themselves. From the confines of France some eighty thousand, of both sexes, flocked to Peter the Hermit. He allowed himself to be made

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drous achievements which they should obtain. Many were miraculously marked on their bodies with the sign of the cross, as though with red-hot pincers. A certain Abbot, to obtain means for joining in the campaign, had his forehead marked in this way, and upon showing it to the people, was supplied with all that he required. According to *Neander*, he subsequently became Archbishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine.

Day by day the proportions of the armies of the Lord were enlarged. Those whom age, or other infirmities, kept from the ranks, bewailed the severity of their lot. So universal became the enthusiasm, that delicate women and young children imprinted the cross upon their flesh, to show that it was the will of God that they also should share in the dangers and glories of the great movement. Monks deserted their cloisters; hermits and anchorites emerged from forests and deserts; sinners of abandoned character came forth from their retreats; even the vilest, of both sexes, flocked to the standard of the cross. Of course, the greater proportion of the lower conditions depended on making their way to Palestine through the generosity of others. In fact, one of the most extraordinary features of this crusade was the utter recklessness of the multitudes who engaged in it, in regard to provision for transportation, for clothing, for arms, for shelter, even for necessary food. Many took no thought whatever for these things. They appeared to rely on miracles, through which all essentials should be supplied, and they be brought to their destination in triumph. Those of more sober views provided themselves as best they could. The gentry, and all who held possessions, parted with their estates, in whole or in part, often at ruinous sacrifices, that they might have gold and silver for their needs.

The time for the departure of the expedition was fixed for the end of spring, A. D. 1096. But it was anticipated by the eagerness of the Crusaders. As early as the beginning of March, the nations began to empty themselves. From the confines of France some eighty thousand, of both sexes, flocked to Peter the Hermit. He allowed himself to be made

their general, although lacking every essential of a military leader, and guided them along the banks of the Rhine and Danube. They constituted a motley crowd! Some were on horseback, some in carriages, some in carts, but the greater part on foot. They were clothed in every style, and armed with every kind of weapon. All ranks and conditions were represented. Women were there, bearing arms; stout warriors; old age; childhood. Opulence and misery stalked side by side; the helmet and coat of mail were seen marching with the plainly clad peasant; and the mitred Abbot or Bishop dragged the sword, or bore the crozier, beside the better trained but not more venturous knight or lord. The extreme ignorance of the masses will be appreciated, when it is stated that they fully expected, almost as soon as they left their own borders, to look upon the walls of Jerusalem (*Recuel.* His. Crois.).

These advance guards of the Crusades, without order, without a competent leader, and without adequate supplies of any kind, soon began to realize the hardships to which they had so rashly subjected themselves. An impoverished knight, of unquestioned courage, and of no mean ability, called "Walter the Penniless," was Lieutenant under Peter. The column which he commanded traversed the wild and inhospitable countries of Hungary and Bulgaria. Before entering those territories, they subsisted on the charities of the faithful. But now, though in nominally Christian lands, they were to discover the bitterness of their condition. Provisions being refused by the Bulgarians, they were seized by the Crusaders, who also committed other excesses. The enraged Bulgarians flew to arms, and a large number of the unfortunate wanderers perished through their vengeance. Walter did not, or could not, with the material under him, avenge the outrage; but he succeeded, after two months of great fatigue and misery, in bringing what remained of his demoralized forces under the walls of Constantinople.

Peter, following the same route, upon discovering the severities of the Bulgarians, very unwisely gave reins to the pas-

sions of his followers. This again enraged the inhabitants, who succeeded in slaying thousands of Peter's bravest companions and routing the rest. The unfortunate Hermit, with the wreck of his forces, was compelled to take refuge in the mountains, whence he was aided in reaching Constantinople by the Emperor of the Greeks.

It is necessary here to call attention to the fact that the Greek rulers were actuated solely by motives of selfish policy in all their actions towards the Crusaders. They needed the assistance of the Latins, but they desired that assistance under their guidance. They were particularly desirous that the Crusaders should not linger too near their Capital for any great length of time. They feared the ambition or avarice of the more powerful Crusaders, well knowing they had not the ability to prevent their wresting rich territories, if they willed, from the Greek crown. The object of these rulers was, if possible, to control the Crusades to their own purposes, and for their own glory, and thus to strengthen themselves and enlarge their possessions. But as the Latins were not always to be subjected to the Greek policy, as the leaders of the Crusades often plainly discerned the selfishness of that policy, and indignantly spurned it, the Emperors at intervals threw all possible obstacles in their way, or neglected the aid they had a right to expect, and which had been repeatedly assured them. Had it been otherwise, there can be little doubt that the Crusades would have resulted in the permanent establishment of the Christian religion throughout the East, with the existence to this day of a powerful kingdom in the interests of Western civilization.

Gottschalk, a German monk, followed Peter, with an army of twenty thousand. Another large body, under the monk Volkmar, also left the banks of the Rhine. But very few of either command reached the Capital of the Greek Empire.

While these bodies, largely composed of the lowest and worst elements of Europe, were thus pressing towards Jerusalem, and experiencing such frightful losses, the real power of the Crusades was gradually and more leisurely gathering its

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forces. The nobility were arming for the conflict. None of the principal sovereigns of Europe engaged directly in this Crusade. But many princes and nobles of secondary importance entered heartily into this great movement. Chief among them was Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, or Brabant, of the race of the Counts of Boulogne, and a descendant of the illustrious Charlemagne. Under his standard were eighty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, the latter embracing many of the most famous of the chivalry of that age. He was attended by his brothers Eustace de Boulogne and Baldwin, and his cousin Baldwin de Bourg —all subsequently kings of Jerusalem. The young but powerful Hugh, Count of Vermandois, one of the most distinguished knights of the period, led his own vassals in large numbers. Robert *Courte heuse*, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of the Conqueror of England, ranged his nobility and vassals under his standard, first pledging his Duchy to his brother Rufus (William II., King of England) for means to defray his expenses. Robert, Count of Flanders, led the Frisons and Flemings. Stephen, Count of Chartres, and Raymond, Count of Thoulouse, also ranged themselves, with their followers, under the banner of the cross. Other nobles led large bodies of troops, and many of high birth and great powers served under the banners of those mentioned. Nearly all were accompanied by their wives and children, and were attended with all the pomp their circumstances would allow.

The Italian Prince of Tarentum, the illustrious Bohemond, headed a very large and thoroughly equipped army. With him was associated his cousin Tancred, one of the bravest and most chivalrous knights that ever bore lance or wielded sword, and who exercised a most important influence in all the councils and engagements of the Crusaders. Of the distinguished Prelates accompanying the troops may be mentioned, the Papal Legate, Adhemar, the Archbishop of Toledo, and the Bishop of Orange.

These hosts were collected in four grand divisions. The first, which was commanded by Godfrey de Bouillon, with the

two Baldwins, consisted of the nobility of the Rhenish Provinces, and the more northern part of Germany. The second, under the Count of Vermandois, comprised the chivalry of central and northern France, the British Isles, Normandy, and Flanders. The third, headed by Bohemond and Tancred, was composed of knights and men-at-arms of southern Italy. And the fourth, led by the Count of Thoulouse, was constituted of the confederates of Languedoc Gascony, Arles, &c., under the general appellation of Provencals, with some knights of Spain and northern Italy.

Through various fortunes, and often severe sufferings, these forces at length arrived under the walls of Constantinople. No authoritative statement can be made of the numbers constituting these crusading armies. But that they were extraordinary, considering the age, and the conditions of war at that time, is unquestionable. Some writers (among them the Archbishop of Tyre) assert that some six or seven hundred thousand warriors were present in arms, with a great crowd of women and children and priests, and of men who followed the camp for various purposes. It is probable that of mounted men there were fully one hundred thousand. This body was composed of the flower of chivalry, and presented a magnificent spectacle. The knights in complete armor of the most costly kind, with their esquires and men-at-arms, also encased in armor, equipped with lance and sword, the battle-axe and ponderous mace of iron, were enemies not to be despised; and their enthusiastic valor and familiarity with their weapons, made them dangerous even to overwhelming opposition. Some four hundred thousand footmen accompanied their cavalry. They were armed with the long and cross bow, with such other arms as could be provided, or which their condition allowed them to bear. They formed, however, a sharp contrast to the splendor of the cavalry, which glittered in the blazonry of embroidered mantles, armor inlaid with gold and precious stones, rich waving plumes, and silken banners and pennons. As they gathered before the Greek Capital, the fears and jealousy of the Greek powers were awakened. And

10th, A. D. 1099, they reached the heights of Emmaus, when the sacred object of all their toils and dangers burst full upon their view. As they beheld thus suddenly "Zion, city of our God," they stood for a moment lost in amazement, and overcome with emotion. But recovering themselves, there arose from all their ranks the shout of wild delight and enthusiastic joy, "*Jerusalem!* JERUSALEM!" And then, and instantly, over the Mount of Zion and the Mount of Olives rang the crusading battle-cry, "*It is the will of God!*" "IT IS THE WILL OF GOD!" The whole army bowed themselves to the earth, and wept tears of joy and thankfulness at beholding the place dear to all Christians as the scene of the labors and death of the Redeemer.

But Jerusalem was not yet in their possession. As soon, therefore, as their first transports were over, they began preparations for what they knew would be a deadly conflict. Once more Jerusalem was besieged. Since its destruction by Titus in the first Christian century, this renowned city had experienced many changes of fortune. The Emperor Hadrian destroyed the very ruins of its ancient glories, building another city upon its site, but calling it — that nothing of Jerusalem should be associated with it, — *Aelia Capitolina.* This became a second-rate Syro-Roman city. The Christians and Jews were banished from it, and paganism was exalted over the Judaic faith and the Christian religion. Thus it remained until the time of Constantine. Even at the council of Nice, A. D. 325, Macarius was present, not as Bishop of Jerusalem, but (according to *Stanley*) as Bishop of Aëlia. Constantine restored the ancient name, recalled the banished inhabitants, and made it once more a city of the faith of Christ. It subsequently suffered many vicissitudes — was conquered by the Persians, retaken by the Greeks, and then fell into the hands of the Moslems, who profaned the sacred places, and changed its churches into mosques. When the Crusaders were before it, it was strongly fortified, and heavily garrisoned. Of fighting men it contained no less than forty thousand, and these were of the best troops of Egypt. It was abundantly supplied

with provisions; and to all appearances was impregnable. On the southern and eastern faces it was absolutely impregnable, since it was completely commanded by steep and craggy precipices which defied assault. The other two sides were strengthened with all the art of that age. The siege lasted for forty days, during which the severest hardships were endured by the beseigers. Hunger, thirst, and sickness, destroyed many. Again and again to take the city appeared almost hopeless. But nothing could daunt the courage of the small and devoted band of assailants. At length they were rewarded. On Friday, July 15th, A. D. 1099, the very day of the passion of the Saviour, at three o'clock in the afternoon, Godfrey de Bouillon, with two nobles, sprang upon the battlements, and planted his banner upon the walls.[1] Tancred also gained an entrance at about the same time. As the Crusaders swept into the city, the Moslems fled in dismay, and through the streets was shouted the dreaded war-cry of the wearers of the cross. Alas! that no mercy was in the hearts of the victors in that moment of their triumph. The unfortunate followers of the crescent were butchered without pity, and neither age nor sex was spared. So fearful was the massacre, that Latin nobles, in a letter to the Pope (*Marten. Thesaur. Nov. Anec.* 1. 282), boasted that the blood of the infidels, in the porch of the Mosque of St. Omar, rose to the knees of the horses!

When the first excitement of the conquest was over, we have presented a singular picture of the spirit of the Crusaders. But it was the spirit of the age, in which war and religion were strangely blended, and out of which no word of pity arises for the slaughter of those deemed the enemies of the cross, nor a sign of compunction on the part of any heart for its share in the bloody work. Satisfied with victory, and sated with carnage and booty, broken with fatigue, and impressed with the hallowed associations awakened by the very dust on which they trod, the feelings of the Crusaders under-

[1] A most delightful and spirited description of the siege is given in Tasso's Gierusalemme Liberata.

went a mighty change. Godfrey and his companions proceeded, without arms, and with uncovered heads and bare feet, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They were joined by the whole army. Thence, headed by the clergy, they all passed in solemn procession to the Church of the Resurrection. And then, Jerusalem, so lately the scene of bloodshed, and ringing with the clang of arms and the groans of the wounded and dying, beheld the conquering Christian host bent in devotion, and resounded with their penitential sobs and prayers.

Yet the next day the massacre was renewed. Saracen and Jew alike fell beneath the lance or sword of the Crusaders. Gibbon says, seventy thousand Mussulmen perished in Jerusalem, and that the synagogue in which the Jews took refuge was burnt over their heads, consuming them all in the flames. It was at this time that the true cross, as is alleged, was brought forth. It was said to have been taken from Jerusalem by Cosroës and restored by Heraclius, and preserved from the infidels through many weary years by the faithful. Now it rewarded the Crusaders with its possession, and they carried it in exultation through the streets of the city.

Godfrey de Bouillon was elected, by the nobles and knights, King of Jerusalem, and at once entered upon his royal duties. His kingdom consisted, actually, only of Jerusalem and Jaffa. But Baldwin was established at Edessa, and Bohemond at Antioch. The hope was entertained of founding an Eastern Empire, which should be a transcript of the Western, to be ruled in the name and as a fief of the Papacy. To this end the laws and manners of the French nation and Latin church, with the general principles of the feudal system of Europe, were introduced. A standing army was indispensable, but out of the wreck of the Crusades Godfrey could only organize about twelve thousand men — a poor defence against the hordes of the enemy. Still, with that number, with the assistance of five or six thousand troops from his brother, Godfrey met, within a month of the conquest of Jerusalem, great armies of the Turks and Saracens under the Fatimite

Caliph of Egypt, and routed them with frightful slaughter. The battle of Ascalon, Aug. 12th, A. D. 1099, was the last combined effort of the warriors of this Crusade.

When the kingdom of Jerusalem was somewhat settled, those who cared not to remain, or whose presence was indispensable in Europe, returned to their own lands. Many, however, were ruined in fortune, often in health. Nevertheless they were esteemed rich in the glory they had attained, and in the precious relics they bore to their homes from Palestine. Peter the Hermit also returned, retired to a Monastery at Huy, and there ended his days.

This Crusade has been considered at some length, because the most important, and because upon it hinged the events of all succeeding.

Article VII.

Notices of Recent German Works.

It has long been a contested question whether the doctrine of wicked angels was held by the Jews prior to the Captivity, or was taken up by them in Babylon under the influence of a foreign religion. A decisive answer could not be given until the period of the composition of certain books of the Old Testament was settled beyond a reasonable doubt, so that the critical grounds might be shown whereon the writings in which the doctrine appears are assigned to their proper period. Besides a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew literature, an acquaintance with the Persian religion is indispensable to an exposition of the subject, and more especially a familiarity with the facts which the great discoveries of our century have brought to light touching the providential intercourse of the Hebrews with other Asiatic nations. Such qualifications are possessed in a preëminent degree by the author of a recent

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German treatise on the Jewish Angelology and Demonology in their dependence on Parseeism.[1] To a complete knowledge of the Persian language and of the Zend-Avesta, Dr. Kohut unites such a familiarity with the Hebrew literature that he has carried his investigations far beyond the Old Testament into the later Judaism even to the times of the Talmud. In the Rabbinical and Talmudic literature he is perfectly at home, and such prominence has he given to this department of the investigation that it occupies the greater part of his work, while the treatment of the subject in its relation to the Old Testament finds a place in the Introduction.

From the fact that orders or ranks of angels are first mentioned in the books undoubtedly written after the Captivity, and from other points of resemblance between the Hebrew angelology of this period and that of the Persians, the author draws the conclusion that the latter exerted an important influence on the former. Indeed, when it is considered that the Jews, after their deportation beyond the borders of Mesopotamia and Syria, were dispersed among the Medes and Persians, where their condition must have been a comparatively tolerable one, as the number who availed themselves of the opportunity offered by Cyrus to return home testifies, and when the fact is taken into account that while the Jews were among the Persians, the peculiar religion of the latter was at the height of its prosperity, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion of the author, that the Jews here took up and put in circulation the angelology of the Zoroastrian religion. "This assertion," says the author, "has already been previously made in general terms, but can now for the first time be raised to a higher probability from the Persian sources, since these have been made accessible to Europeans by the labors of such men as Burnouf, Spiegel, Brockhaus, and others."

In proof of the foreign origin of a Demonology, the author maintains that the doctrine of a wicked angel was unknown

[1] Ueber die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus, von Dr. Alexander Kohut. Leipzig, 1866.

to the Judaism of the period prior to the Captivity, because such an assumption conflicts with the cosmological views of Judaism. According to these, the world is not a necessary emanation from a fatalistic Nature, but the work of a Creator possessing omnipotence and unlimited freedom of will. In such a world, created by a holy God, who, after the work of creation, pronounced it good, the Jews knew nothing of the origin of an Evil Principle; here there could be only relative, not absolute evil, which former, on account of human freedom, is indispensable in the counsel of God. Hence Judaism, as a monotheism, unhesitatingly and unconditionally acknowledged God as the Author of physical evil, who sometimes sent His angels to inflict punishment. But they were not by any means considered as spirits hostile to man, nay, rather inclined to reconciliation and mercy, as appears from the important passage in Ezekiel ix. 5. In Parseeism we meet with the direct opposite of this. Here Ormuzd and Ahriman with their demons appear even in the origin of the universe as two creators in a hostile creative activity. Only here, in a system of dualism, can the doctrine of an evil Principle have its origin. Among monotheists it must ever appear as an enfeebled modification, and as a foreign element. That the later rabbinical doctrines and the Talmud acknowledge the foreign character of this Demonology, is one of the most interesting of the author's demonstrations.

The work with its marked excellencies is not without defects. The author is charged with giving artificial etymologeies, and with neglecting to account for the appearance of Satan in the book of Job, which is believed to belong to the period prior to the Captivity. [2]

The doctrine of Universal Salvation has an able defender in Pastor Stroh, who has recently published a thorough little treatise founded on 1 Cor. xv. 20—28, entitled "Christ the First Fruits of Them that Slept, or, the Hope of Life for All who die in Adam. A Biblical Demonstration of the Doctrine

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[2] Theol. Jahresbericht 1866.

the Restoration."[8] The work has an interest as shownig that there is a tendency among the Bible-believing theologians of Germany toward a well-grounded faith in the great doctrine of the Restoration as expounded by Universalists in this country. The German Rationalists have always accepted the doctrine in substance; but, holding it, like Theodore Parker, without regard to, or in spite of, the New Testament, they have not sought to give it a Biblical exposition. But now the fact that the great Bunsen has unhesitatingly advocated it in his *Bibel-Werk*, and that this book by Stroh is commended by a German Theological Review edited in the interest of conservatives, indicate a hopeful tendency toward Bible-Universalism among a class of thinkers whose influence is most powerfully felt by the masses. Our space will not permit as complete a notice of this work as might be desired, but the following interpretation of the Apostle's meaning in verses 21 and 22 is a fair specimen of the author's style of treatment: "Christ is the first fruits of them that slept in his resurrection, for it is through a man that death came, and through a man came the resurrection. From Adam death came upon *all*, and the resurrection of the dead comes upon *all*, i. e., those who die in Adam, shall be made alive in Christ. By resurrection and making alive of the dead, we can understand nothing but the restoration of man from the death into which he has fallen through Adam's sin, and his exaltation into the life which Christ brought to light, that is, into the glorious and incorruptible life of the spiritual body, 2 Cor. iii. 18; Rom. vi. 9; Col. i. 27." There is little that is new to us in the author's plan of argument and adaptation of Scripture, while in respect to a General Judgment, the Resurrection of the body, and the Millenium, he entertains opinions long since rejected by liberal scholars. The dogmatic and historical significance of the work is best set forth in the remarkable commendation of the Orthodox Review above

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A significant movement in German theology is that led by Schenkel, Holtzmann and other liberal scholars, under the name of the Protestant Union, the object of which is to effect some kind of a union between the Christian religion and modern culture. A cause to which such a man as the late lamented Dr. Rothe devoted his abilities cannot be hastily condemned. The highest culture is Christian. Science, literature and art only fulfill their mission when their results are in harmony with the spirit of Christianity; that is, when along with their culture of the intellect, they quicken the soul to a love of truth and purity, draw out its affections towards humanity, teach it to recognize the divine mysteries, and bow reverently before God. But there has always been a kind of culture which has ignored or denied much that Christians have felt it a sacred duty to maintain. This culture is abroad to-day, and is wielding no inconsiderable power. To bring it into harmony with Christianity is one of the religious problems of the age. Shall this be effected by concessions on the part of the church? Shall the church discard doctrines which give offence to the men of science and culture? In a word, shall it agree to insist no longer on the miraculous? These questions the Protestant Union answers in the affirmative, and claims the liberty to advocate its principles. It was in the interest of this movement that Dr. Schenkel's *Charakterbild Jesu* was written. This book and the purposes of the Union are candidly estimated from an opposite standpoint in a pamphlet by Dr. Lautier, entitled "The Historical Christ, with reference to the German Protestant Union and Schenkel's

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Character of Jesus Portrayed."[4] The author shows that the members of the Union have failed in the very essential matter of pointing out the means by which the harmony between Christianity and modern culture can be effected. "The Protestant Union wishes to effect a reconciliation between thought and faith, between science and the church, but in the attempt has fallen into an unphilosophical groping hither and thither which is neither right thinking nor right believing. From so superficial a proceeding no permanent result is to be expected." The conclusion of the author in reference to the means of reconciliation is such as commends itself to every consistent Christian. The true reconciliation will be effected when "culture submits itself to the influence of the spirit of Christ, and learns to appreciate the significance and actual power of religion." Indeed, Christianity cannot yield its essential doctrines to the demands of a one-sided culture. It must rather assert them with deeper earnestness, while it infuses into all the culture of the age the spirit of Christ, and exalts all literature to its own divine standard. The author finds Schenkel's Portrait of the Character of Jesus quite unsatisfactory. He misses in it the truly scientific method of investigation. He sees in it a one-sided conception of the essence of religion which is made to consist in the merely ethical. From such a standpoint it were impossible to construct a true portrait of such a character as Jesus.

Another pamphlet bearing on the same absorbing theme in one of its most important aspects, is by Dr. Delitzsch, and is entitled "Jesus and Hillel, Compared with Reference to Renan and Geiger."[5] Hillel, the grandfather of Gamaliel, at whose feet Paul sat, is known as a distinguished teacher of the Jewish law who flourished about fifty years before Christ. Renan, while claiming for Christ a high originality and a cer-

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Such are some of the leading points in an argument of rare ability and power. The pamphlet belongs to a series of writings, some of which we may have occasion to notice hereafter.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The Hebrews in Egypt.

A GERMAN work,[1] issued in Berlin, of which Heinrich Brugsch one of the ablest of Egyptian scholars, is the author, contains among other things chapters on "Moses and the Monuments," "The Revelations of the Stones," "An Ancient Egyptian Story — the oldest in the world," &c. The chapter on "Moses and the Monuments" furnishes some exceedingly interesting information in regard to the presence of the Hebrews in Egypt; and if the statements are wholly reliable, and the interpretations of the monumental inscriptions are correct, the narrative of the Book of Exodus touching their servitude and labors finds in the facts strong confirmation.

One thing seems to be now tolerably well established, and generally accepted by Egyptologists, that the period comprised between the entrance and exodus of the Israelites was one of the most brilliant epochs of Egyptian history. This fact appears to be proved beyond controversy by the monuments. Another fact is also established, and appears in Egyptian traditions, that when the empire was in a flourishing condition, a Semitic horde, probably hard pressed by

[1] Aus dem Orient. Von HEINRICH BRUGSCH. Zwei Theile in einem Bande. Berlin, 1864. Verlag von Werner Grosse.

the Assyrians, poured down upon Egypt, as the northern hordes did upon Rome, and taking possession of the Delta, fortified themselves, and began a war of invasion and conquest. After a severe and protracted struggle, they expelled the reigning dynasty, and established themselves on the throne of the Pharaohs, which they and their successors held for some five hundred years — Bunsen says nine hundred. They are known in history under the name of "The Hyksos" or "Shepherd Kings." Their chief city was Tanis, or Avaris (Egyptian, Hanar), the Zoan of the Bible, some traces of which have been discovered as remaining to the present day.

Through this weary period of foreign rule, however, the warlike spirit of the native Egyptians survived, and in the end they overcame their tyrants, and re-established their ancient power. Then came in the long line of monarchs who raised the Egyptian Empire to marvellous power and glory — carrying their conquests even to the banks of the Euphrates, laying Babylon and Nineveh under tribute, and upon the borders of Armenia raising their monuments of victory. Multitudes of captives were brought back from these expeditions, and set to work upon the temples of Memphis and Thebes, on the walls of which they may be seen to-day represented as making bricks and spreading them in the sun under the lash of Egyptian taskmasters. Thus was the old account with their Semitic conquerors balanced, and, as Bunsen says, "Africa took its revenge on Asia."

We come now to a summary of the contents of Brugsch's chapter on "Moses and the Monuments" as presented by a correspondent of the *Christian Examiner*, July, 1867. The statements, as given, rest wholly on the authority of the eminent German scholar, who does not hesitate to translate the *Apuru* of the papyrus roll into the name *Hebrews*. Ramses I. was the founder of the nineteenth dynasty, about the middle of the sixteenth century before Christ:

"About 1400 B. C., his grandson, Ramses II., began his reign, which lasted for sixty-six years; and it is then that the first monumental synchronism occurs with the records of the Hebrews in the Bible. On the eastern side of the Delta, Ramses constructed a series of bulwarks, from Pelusium to Heliopolis, against the inroads of Asiatic hordes, — bulwarks which served also to overawe the Semitic population of his kingdom. And among these fortified places were two, named Ramses and Pachtum: 'And they built for Pharaoh treasure cities, Pithom and Raamses' (Exod. i. 11); the word for Pharaoh, which the Hebrews applied to the king, being merely a title signifying 'the great house,' as we say of the Sultan, 'the Sublime

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Porte' (Gate). It was under this Pharaoh, Ramses II., that Moses was born and brought up, in the first half of the fourteenth century before Christ.

In one of the papyrus rolls preserved in the British Museum, the Egyptian scribe, Pinebsa, reports to his chief, Amenemaput, the condition in which he has found the city Ramses: 'It is incomparable,' he says, 'and life there is sweet; the streets are filled with men, the ponds and canals with fish, and the fields with birds; fragrant flowers bloom on the meadows, and the fruits taste like honey; and the granaries are bursting with corn.' And then he records the preparations which had been made for the reception of the king at his entry into the city; and adds that there was a dense multitude of people to greet him, but more especially to address to him, 'great in victory,' their prayers and complaints. On the back of this withered papyrus, moreover, there is a memorandum of the structures erected in the city, so that there has thus descended to us a contemporary account, indeed, of the cities described in Exodus as built by the Israelites for their taskmasters in Egypt.

We should naturally expect to find the children of Israel designated on the monuments by the term applied to them by foreign nations; and in point of fact this has been discovered to be the case, the foreign appellation of the Hebrews being found in their Egyptian designation,—*Apuru*. In a papyrus roll preserved in Leyden is found the following writing from the scribe Kanitsir to his chief, the scribe Bakenpthah:—

'May my master find content therein that I have accomplished the task which he assigned to me in the words, to wit, Give food to the soldiers, and also to the Hebrews who transport the stones to the great city of the King Ramses—Miamun, Lover of Truth, [and who] are under command of the Police—soldiers, Ameneman. I supplied them with food each month, according to the excellent command which my master hath given unto me.'

And again, on the rocks in the valley of Hamamât, along which went the old Egyptian highway from Coptos, on the Nile, to the port of Berenice, on the Red Sea, is an inscription in which is included, among other things, an enumeration of the number of men employed in constructing the road; and among them is a troop of eight hundred Hebrews, under the escort of Egyptian soldiers of the police, of Libyan descent, called *mazai*.

Two things, therefore, may be considered established: first, that the Egyptian records named Ramses as the builder of the cities Pithom and Raamses; and, secondly, that the same records speak of the Hebrews in a way to indicate that their position in respect to the building of these cities was that of forced laborers under police superintendence. Now in the Bible the builder of Pithom and Raamses appears at once as a tyrannical oppressor of the children of Israel, and as a new king in Egypt who 'knew not Joseph,'—a fact which shows that Joseph never came to the court of an Egyptian Pharaoh,

but to one of those Semitic conquerors in the Delta, who lived at Avaris (Tanis), and thence governed the country as far as Memphis and Heliopolis. After the liberation of their country, therefore, from these usurpers, the Pharaohs of Egyptian race had no feeling for the kindred of the former, and for three hundred years exercised an oppressive sway over them, which reached its culmination under Ramses II. and his successor. The birth of Moses falls under Ramses II.; and under his successor, whom the monuments call Menephthes, occurred the Exodus, when Moses was eighty years of age. If, therefore, Menephthes reigned twenty years, as the Egyptian lists of kings state, Moses must have been born about the sixth year of Ramses, which corresponds with the statement of the Biblical records, that the building of Pithom and Raamses occurred in the first year of Ramses.

Now, the building of these cities had a strong political motive at the bottom of it; for they were designed to serve, not merely as a defence against invasion from Canaan, but as centres for the troops employed to keep down their own Semitic subjects. For, on one of the walls at Thebes, a treaty has been found, made between Ramses II., in the twenty-first year of his reign, and Chetasar, the king of the Hittites, which contains, among other things, the following clause: 'If the subjects of King Ramses come over to the king of the Hittites, the king of the Hittites is not to receive them, but to compel them to return to the king of Egypt.'

But it was not merely by military measures that the Pharaohs endeavored to control the restless spirit of their Semitic subjects: they had recourse to other less cruel and more insidious devices. According to the ancient belief, the gods of various countries were in fact the same, though designated by different names. Ramses took advantage of this notion, and offered sacrifices to the god of the strangers, to Baal (Sutech), and erected temples to him in the old Semitic city of Tanis, for it was in Tanis that the worship of Baal had survived from the days of the Semitic protectors of Joseph. The colossal sitting statue of Ramses, in Berlin, is the one which he had made for this very temple, and must therefore have been seen by Moses; for the Bible mentions Zoan (Tanis) as the place where, at the command of the Lord, Moses worked his wonders before Pharaoh (Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43)." [2]

There is an interesting article on Bunsen's great work — "Egypt's Place in History" — in the *Christian Examiner* for Nov., 1867.

[2] "Touching the Egyptian origin of the name of Moses, Brugsch says there can now be but one opinion. The monuments make mention of several persons who bore the name Mas, or Massu, a word signifying 'the child;' among others, one of the governors of Æthiopia, under the Pharaoh of Exodus, with whom, indeed, Josephus seems to have confounded Moses the lawgiver, when he speaks of the latter as having led an Egyptian army to Æthiopia in his youth, and having penetrated to Meroe and married the Egyptian princess, Tharbis, who, out of the love she had conceived for him, traitorously opened the gates of the city to him."

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Two things, therefore, may be considered established: first, that the Egyptian records named Ramses as the builder of the cities Pithom and Raamses; and, secondly, that the same records speak of the Hebrews in a way to indicate that their position in respect to the building of these cities was that of forced laborers under police superintendence. Now in the Bible the builder of Pithom and Raamses appears at once as a tyrannical oppressor of the children of Israel, and as a new king in Egypt who 'knew not Joseph,'—a fact which shows that Joseph never came to the court of an Egyptian Pharaoh,

but to one of those Semitic conquerors in the Delta, who lived at Avaris (Tanis), and thence governed the country as far as Memphis and Heliopolis. After the liberation of their country, therefore, from these usurpers, the Pharaohs of Egyptian race had no feeling for the kindred of the former, and for three hundred years exercised an oppressive sway over them, which reached its culmination under Ramses II. and his successor. The birth of Moses falls under Ramses II.; and under his successor, whom the monuments call Menephthes, occurred the Exodus, when Moses was eighty years of age. If, therefore, Menephthes reigned twenty years, as the Egyptian lists of kings state, Moses must have been born about the sixth year of Ramses, which corresponds with the statement of the Biblical records, that the building of Pithom and Raamses occurred in the first year of Ramses.

Now, the building of these cities had a strong political motive at the bottom of it; for they were designed to serve, not merely as a defence against invasion from Canaan, but as centres for the troops employed to keep down their own Semitic subjects. For, on one of the walls at Thebes, a treaty has been found, made between Ramses II., in the twenty-first year of his reign, and Chetasar, the king of the Hittites, which contains, among other things, the following clause: 'If the subjects of King Ramses come over to the king of the Hittites, the king of the Hittites is not to receive them, but to compel them to return to the king of Egypt.'

But it was not merely by military measures that the Pharaohs endeavored to control the restless spirit of their Semitic subjects: they had recourse to other less cruel and more insidious devices. According to the ancient belief, the gods of various countries were in fact the same, though designated by different names. Ramses took advantage of this notion, and offered sacrifices to the god of the strangers, to Baal (Sutech), and erected temples to him in the old Semitic city of Tanis, for it was in Tanis that the worship of Baal had survived from the days of the Semitic protectors of Joseph. The colossal sitting statue of Ramses, in Berlin, is the one which he had made for this very temple, and must therefore have been seen by Moses; for the Bible mentions Zoan (Tanis) as the place where, at the command of the Lord, Moses worked his wonders before Pharaoh (Ps. lxxviii. 12, 43)." [2]

There is an interesting article on Bunsen's great work — "Egypt's Place in History" — in the *Christian Examiner* for Nov., 1867.

[2] "Touching the Egyptian origin of the name of Moses, Brugsch says there can now be but one opinion. The monuments make mention of several persons who bore the name Mas, or Massu, a word signifying 'the child;' among others, one of the governors of Æthiopia, under the Pharaoh of Exodus, with whom, indeed, Josephus seems to have confounded Moses the lawgiver, when he speaks of the latter as having led an Egyptian army to Æthiopia in his youth, and having penetrated to Meroe and married the Egyptian princess, Tharbis, who, out of the love she had conceived for him, traitorously opened the gates of the city to him."

"*Increase of Christ.*"

It is amusing at times to see how easily the bubbles of some of our flighty orators are broken. This is well illustrated in the following criticism, from the *Christian Register*, of the address before the Unitarian Ministerial Union, bearing the above title, by Rev. Robert Collyer. The address was published both in the *Radical* and in the *Monthly Journal*. Mr. Collyer says that Jesus began as a Jew, "believing entirely in the Jewish groove, full of exclusive and proud Jewish ideas, colored by Jewish prejudices, and hedged in by Jewish limitations;" but that he gradually outgrew these things, and finally came to believe in God as a universal Father, in the brotherhood of mankind, and in the spiritual worship of the soul.

In proof of this he quotes certain passages from the Gospels, in some of which he says Jesus contradicts what he had taught in the others, showing thereby that he had changed his mind and purpose; that, increasing in knowledge, and getting a clearer view of truth, he outgrew the errors of his earlier belief and teaching, "and took his place as the first born among the sons of God." To this argument the writer in the *Register* replies as follows:

"Mr. Collyer quotes substantially five pairs of passages to show this; the former passage of each pair containing a doctrine or statement which is contradicted or disproved by the latter. For example, —'Christ taught, Whosoever shall break one of these least commandments, and teach men so, the same shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven,' . . . and yet he 'ordered a man to do . . . that which by any fair interpretation of the old law and the prophets must certainly be Sabbath-breaking.' The argument from this is, that Christ had learned that the old law was not to be thus kept as he at *first* supposed, and so he changed his ground and ordered the law broken respecting the Sabbath. Christ was thus 'outgrowing Judaism.'

Now in order to show that this was outgrowing Judaism, and that Mr. Collyer's theory and proof are worth anything, it is at least necessary that the direction to the man 'to carry his bed' should be *subsequent* to the direction to keep 'the least of the commandments.' Now, unfortunately for the argument, the 'last is first and the first last.' The man was directed to 'carry his bed' *before* the direction was given not 'to break the law,' so that not only Mr. Collyer's proof fails and his theory with it, but the exact *contrary* is proved, namely, that Christ's views grew *more Jewish as he grew older!* Neander, Hase and Carpenter, to quote no more harmonists, agree as to this priority, and Carpenter places the latter *five months* before the for-

mer, and he estimates all Christ's ministry at only about eighteen months.

So much for one of the pairs of passages. The same is true of two of the other pairs; so that *three* out of the five pairs quoted by Mr. Collyer to prove that Christ gradually grew out of the errors of Judaism which he first taught, only prove — if Mr. Collyer's method of proof is worth anything, which it is not — *that he dwarfed out of the broadest truth into the narrowest Judaism as his ministry continued.*

Of the other two pairs of passages quoted to prove the mistakes of Jesus in the early period of his ministry, one pair was spoken — that is, both passages which are quoted to prove the growth of Christ in knowledge, because the latter contradicts the former — within a *month* of his death, and *both* passages are in the *same* address, and could not have been more than *one minute* apart!

The other pair is the only one that can *chronologically* be of the least value to Mr. Collyer's theory, and when properly interpreted, is of as little real value as the others."

"*Inspiration of the Bible.*"

RECENTLY, at the request of the students, the President of Michigan University, Dr. E. O. Haven, preached a sermon on this subject. The production shows that he did not preach without fitting preparation, without a careful study of the question, and a well defined plan of argument. There are few questions within the domain of Biblical science beset with greater difficulties than this of inspiration, few on which wise men have said more foolish things. It is not often that we meet with anything at all satisfactory respecting it, or that presents the subject in a way to suggest a reasonable and philosophic a explanation of the problems involved. Occasionally, however, we find something worthy of being read and patiently considered, something which may be counted, perhaps, as a contribution toward a satisfactory exposition of some one of the many questions included in a thorough discussion of this abstruse and difficult theme. The following, from the discourse above named, seems worthy to be classed under this head:

"But what do we mean by inspiration? Do we mean that every passage in the Holy Scriptures was dictated from the lips of the Holy One, in the exact words which we have, and is precisely true in all proper senses, or in some one sense more easily entertained? Were the human writers thereof merely writers, and God the real author of every word?

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There are some who maintain this, and the arguments for their doctrine are not easily overthrown.

But it should be remembered that God's great written revelation was by slow degrees, and at long intervals, given to man. It should be studied in its own light. It should not be forgotten that God accommodated his instructions to the people, and to the age often, in which they were given, and that many of the earlier revelations are absorbed into or superseded by the later revelations.

There was a glory that in a sense has 'passed away,' by reason of the greater glory that remaineth. It should be remembered that, acting through the human mind, inspiration uses a finite instrument necessarily imperfect, and employs language, metaphor, parable, and other illustrations, necessarily indefinite, and that will and must be construed differently by different persons. It should be remembered that, much of it being history, which served only as a sort of scaffolding for the truth, it is not the history itself that we should study so much as the truth supported and developed in the history. It should be remembered that many of its laws, usages, and ceremonies were temporary, and were only a pedagogue or 'schoolmaster to lead to Christ.'

Wherefore, the wisest critics and most devout men of culture and piety recognize different degrees of inspiration. There are words that are diamonds shining in the dark, and from which the light of God is never absent, — nay, like stars, glowing with their own divine brilliancy. There are others, like coals, that once glowed, but have been followed by other and later fuel.

The Bible is perfectly parallel with nature. Both have the same author. Each bears the impress of the same hand. Both volumes are written in the same style. By nature, we mean that part of the universe revealed to our finite minds in this little inconsiderable corner of the universe, and by the Bible, that Book of God written for us in this small planet. In other departments of the grand universe, nature may reveal some other laws, and a Bible for immortals there may be written in another style. Here, nature has certain laws, or certain modes of operating, and God binds himself by them in his workings. So human nature has its laws, and God accommodates himself to them in his supernatural revelations. The consequence is, in both, certain results that to weak minds at first seem to be imperfections, but are only necessary accommodations. In nature there are superfluities, wastes, defects, repetitions, obstructions, experiments, failures; and out of all, promise of a grand, sublime, perfect totality of success. Is any mountain, river, lake, or ocean absolutely perfect in itself? Is any instinct absolutely perfect? Does not every little contemptible finite critic imagine that he could have made a better world in some respects than this one, or at least suggested some improvements, if he had been consulted on the day before 'the beginning,' when 'God created the heavens and the earth?' And yet, if

his taste had been consulted, and he had omitted some dismal cove, left out some wild desert, prevented some tornado, excluded some pestilence-creating miasma, dropped out of the plan rattlesnakes and vermin, would he have made a better world? Might not that little *improvement* have destroyed the physical balance of things, and unhinged the machinery of the universe?

So, too, could this little critic, like a frog swollen with self-conceit, have been consulted, he would have made what he thinks would be a better Bible! He would have dropped out all those hard stories of crime and folly. Abraham should not have been afraid of the Egyptians, and resorted to something like a falsehood. Jacob should not have been a deceiver. David should not have fallen. Solomon should not have loved strange women, and made use, therefore, of some strange expressions. Paul should not have written some things 'hard to be understood;' and the Apocalypse of John should have been as lucid as the multiplication-table! And the Bible, in such a case, would have been as great a failure as a world without its rough places and unfathomable mysteries.

No, friends, it does not become you and me to criticise God's works in this temper, — either natural or spiritual. Actually we do not know enough. We might as well confess our incapacity here. We were not made to create worlds or write Bibles. We can only study them after they are made, and we find many hard places in both. They abound in rocks and caverns and strange developments; but, thank God! both are infinite in wisdom. They are both sublime, inconceivable, immeasurable embodiments of God's wisdom, power, and love. The most lamentable sight under the heavens is to see the students of the one contending against the students of the other. Neither, alone, can be well understood. They are complements of each other. They are the two grand hemispheres of God's perfect globe of infinite wisdom."

While on this subject, though intending to close with the above extract, we are disposed to give our readers a summary of the views of another writer, Dr. James Freeman Clarke, who seems to have given the question a careful examination. We think the ground taken is at a higher level than that occupied by Unitarians generally, though on this point we would not make any positive assertions, knowing that with them, as with others, there are various theories entertained in regard to the nature, the measure, and the reliability of Scriptural inspiration:

1. The opinions which prevail on the inspiration of the Scriptures are either narrow and defective, or vague and indefinite; showing that a revision of the subject is needed.

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us; and then to inquire what view of inspiration best arranges and harmonizes those facts.

3. The writings of the New Testament are remarkable for depth, height, and sweep of insight; they are also remarkable for precise thought and luminous expression; also for solidity of substance and weight of experience; and, finally, for living and live-giving energy.

4. When we consider who the writers were, and how they were brought together, we cannot ascribe these qualities in their writings to peculiar genius or culture. There must, then, have been some great influence which acted upon all of them, and gave them the power of thought and utterance.

5. Jesus promised the Holy Spirit which was to come after him. The apostles describe the coming of this Holy Spirit. In this influence all believers shared, but it operated differently on different individuals.

6. The main work of the Holy Spirit was to produce faith in Christ, and to bring believers into an inward and personal relation with him, putting his gospel into their hearts.

7. By this experience, the writers of the New Testament were not rendered infallible; but they were placed on a higher plane of experience and insight, where they saw truths invisible to those on a lower level.

Excavations at Jerusalem.

Some time ago we gave brief notice of the formation in England of a Society for the Exploration of Palestine, and of the Expedition sent out for this purpose to Jerusalem. It is expected by those best able to judge that important results will follow the labors of this Expedition, and that valuable discoveries will be made adding greatly to our knowledge of Jewish and Assyrian history, and throwing light on many difficult passages in the Old Testament. The excavations in Jerusalem give large promise in this direction. The following from the speeches of Dean Stanley and Sir Henry Rawlinson, both amply competent to pass judgment in the case, will interest our readers. They are from a late English paper containing an account of a recent meeting of the Society. Dean Stanley remarked —

"That the interest of the exploration turned upon excavations in the city of Jerusalem which bore the same relation to archæology and antiquities which modern criticism did to books. In the old world, Nineveh, Babylon and Thebes were of paramount interest; but it had been well said that the three cities of transcendent importance were Athens, Rome and Jerusalem. He coupled these to-

gether, because hundreds of thousands had visited them; yet within the last twenty years excavations had been made which had revealed to them most important discoveries in Rome as affecting the ancient inhabitants; and within the last five years a relic of antiquity at Athens (the Dionysian theatre), about which innumerable travellers knew nothing. If there was any place in the universe in which the necessity of excavations was apparent, it was in Jerusalem; a city of immense antiquity, captured and destroyed seventeen times, — often burned down, — and always rebuilt on the same site. Its very appearance was that of a city in ruins, — one mass of buildings overlying the other; and when the explorer dug forty feet through the foundation of one, he found the remains of the pillars of another; so that it was impossible to form a notion as to the buildings themselves, or as to the actual formation of the city, without thus digging down beneath the surface. Until this was done, important views with respect to the inner topography of Jerusalem must be involved in obscurity and confusion, which effectually paralyzed speculation, but which it was the duty of the Christian community to remove. They might find that beneath the stones and crumbling ruins which might explain everything, or might, like a hidden mine beneath their feet, explode their theories to the winds of heaven. There was another reason for furthering these explorations in the fact, notwithstanding the doubts and difficulties of investigation, that there was a controversy on questions it would set at rest, of unrivalled interest. There was not only the *odium theologicum* they so often heard about, but the *odium geographicum* and *odium topographicum*, attaching to those controversies in relation to Jerusalem, which it is very desirable to set at rest. There was, for instance, that about the temple. There was no doubt as to its locality being on the east side of the city, near the Mosque of Omar; but there was much diversity of opinion as to the exact position in reference to that structure; and conclusions on this point materially affected the credit of Josephus; and the particular style of his measurements depended for solution upon the depression or elevation of different parts of the platform of the mosque.

Sir H. Rawlinson related the discoveries made in the countries contiguous to Palestine by himself and other explorers, expressing his conviction that in the excavations contemplated at Jerusalem and other places, a knowledge would be obtained of the whole period of history from the time of Solomon down to the destruction of the holy city, more complete and authentic than of any epoch of Greek or Roman history. The Assyrians were shown by their records in Assyria to have had constant intercourse with Judea. Wherever they achieved foreign conquest, and settled for any length of time, they left some local record of the event, as they had done in the Island of Cyprus and on the Koordish Mountains; and he confidently anticipated important discoveries to be made in the cities of Samaria

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and Jerusalem. In the latter city important documents had been found relating only so far to the domestic affairs of its capturer; but he had no doubt annals comprising a full account of the foreign wars of Nebuchadnezzar would be found either there or in Babylon, certainly in one or the other; and these would furnish the crowning-point of all researches into the history of the two nations. These were only a few of the objects contemplated; and the committee were desirous of submitting the whole of them to public examination at the South Kensington Museum, in a separate building, to be devoted to their exposition and that of objects illustrating the sacred and domestic history of all lands mentioned in the Bible."

New England in the Olden Time: Religion, Morals, Slavery, Temperance, &c.

AMONG the interesting pamphlets referred to in a previous number is one bearing the following title:

"*Theopolis Americana.* An ESSAY on the GOLDEN STREET of the HOLY CITY: Publishing A *Testimony* against the *Corruptions* of the MARKET-PLACE. With some *Good Hopes* of *Better Things* to be yet seen in the AMERICAN World. In a Sermon, To the *General Assembly* of the *Massachusett* Province in NEW ENGLAND. 3 *d.* 9 *m.* 1709.

Coulæi Vatis de *America* vaticinium:

> '*Ingenium, Pietas, Artes. ac Bellica Virtus,*
> *Huc Profugæ venient, et Regna Illustria condent;*
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> Plantar. l. 5.

Boston: Printed by *B. Green:* Sold by *Samuel Gerrish* at his Shop. 1710."

The sermon is by Cotton Mather, and is dedicated "To the Honorable Judge Sewall." The text is taken from Rev. xxi. 21: "The street of the City was pure gold." The author deals the most terrible rebukes to the Christian professors of his time, and from his unsparing denunciations it appears that, in that supposed golden age of New England piety and morality, they cheated in trade, used false weights and measures, were cunning at frauds, were guilty of usury, violated contracts, monopolized the necessaries of life and held them at exorbitant prices, were drunkards of the hardest sort, stole Negroes and Indians and sold them into slavery, and even cheated the minister in the matter of his salary! — the last evidence of depravity.

We shall give some paragraphs in illustration of these points, in which the reader will see that history is forever repeating itself, and that the testimony is as true of our times as of the times of the fathers; is equally descriptive of the business, politics, religion and morality of to-day.

"For men to put off *Adulterated* or *Counterfeited* Wares; or, for men to work up their Wares *Deceitfully;* When the FISH is naught; the TAR has undue mixtures; there is Dirt & Stone instead of TURPENTINE; there are thick Layes of SALT instead of other things that should be there; the CHEESE is not made as tis affirm'd to be; the LIQUOR is not for Quantity or Quality such as was agreed for; the WOOD is not of the Dimensions that are promised unto the Purchaser; or perhaps, there was a *Trespass* in the place of Cutting it; the HAY does not hold out Weight by abundance; the LUMBER has a false Number upon it; or, the *Bundles* are not as Good *Within* as they are *Without; Tis an Abomination!*

For men to *Over-reach* others, because they find them *Ignorant*, or Scrue grievously upon them, only because they are Poor and Low, and in great *Necessities;* to keep up the *Necessaries* of Humane Life, (I say, the *Necessaries*, which I always distinguish from the *Superfluities*,) at an *Immoderate Price*, meerly because other People want them, when we can more easily spare them; *Tis an Abomination!*

For men to *Employ* others, and not *Reward* them according to *Contract;* [A Crime, not at all the less, because the *Minister* is not seldom the *Sufferer* from it!] Or, to with-hold from the *Labourer* his *Wages*, till his *Cry* reach up to Heaven; *Tis an Abomination!*

To Rob the *Publick Treasury*, by *False Musters*, or any other Articles of Charge falsely given in; or, to Abett the Robbers, by any Assistence or Connivance at such things in *Auditing* their Accompts; This also is a thing to be *Repented* of, where any have been Guilty of it."

The following extract touches the question of Slavery as it existed in the early days of New England, and the manner in which slaves were procured:

"'To go as *Pirates*, and Catch up poor *Negroes*, or People of another Land, that have never forfeited Life, or Liberty, and to make them *Slaves*, and Sell them, is One of the worst kinds of Thievery in the World; and such Persons are to be taken for the common Enemies of Mankind; and they that buy them, and use them as *Beasts*, for their meer Commodity, and betray, or destroy, or neglect their Souls, are fitter to be called, *Incarnate Devils*, than *Christians*, tho' they be no *Christians* whom they so Abuse.'"

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In the passages below we find mention of "an abomination" which is also common at the present time, and which demands of the pulpit the same faithful rebuke which it received one hundred and sixty years ago by Cotton Mather, who boldly said to the offenders, "I should be very unworthy to stand here, if I should be afraid of dealing plainly with you, when God and Men demand Plain Dealing.'

"I will go on to say. 'Tis a Thing of an *Evil Tendency*, for People to Live *beyond themselves*, or to take it for granted, that they must brave it out with such a *Table*, or with such an *Habit*, tho' they have not wherewithal to bear the Expences of it; They won't take in a *Reef* of their *Sails*, tho' they are on the point of suffering *Shipwreck;* tho' they must borrow, and defraud, and Whiffle, and hurt other People, to Support their Vanity.

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There are many other curious things in this sermon which discover to us the religous and moral condition of society in the time of Cotton Mather, and which we should like to give to our readers, but have not room. There is an allusion to the *Witchcraft* excitement which

seems to indicate some regret for the part he took in the matter, notwithstanding the common belief that he made no concessions on that point. "In two or three memorable *Days of Temptation* that have been upon us, there have been *Errors* committed." "Persons are not to be judged Confederates with Evil Spirits, meerly because the Evil Spirits do make possessed people cry out upon them." "Could any thing be Proposed further, by way of *Reparation*, (Besides the General Day of *Humiliation*, which was appointed and observed thro' the Province, to bewayl the Errors of our Dark Time, some years ago:) you would be willing to hearken to it." These passages seem clearly to indicate that his eyes had begun to open to the real character of that monstrous delusion.

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"You are not at a loss, *What is the matter*, about which I make such a Cry; Such a Repeted Cry; and will not give over doing so. I am with all possible Solemnity to tell you; such Prodigious Quantities of RUM, to be consumed among a People of our Engagements to be the most *Sober People* in the World, I must say, *Tis an horrible Thing!* I request some capable Person, to compute the *Quantities*, and then make the most Proper and Obvious *Inferences;* I am sure, they must all say, *Tis an Horrible Thing!*

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I don't move, to have the *Use* of it Banished; but the *Abuse* and *Excess* of it. And I most importunately move, That all *Sober People* throughout the Land, would set themselves to think, *What may be done to have* RUM *used with more of Moderation?*

The *French* and the *Indians* have sorely Scourged us; but let it not be thought a *Paradox*, That one of the *Sorest Punishments*, which ever did or ever can befall this poor Country, is the *Great Esteem, which this Liquor has among us.* It makes us *Poor;* It keeps us *Poor;* whole *Families* may curse the Day, that ever the *Bottel* came into them. It will soon make us a *Despicable Country.* All our *Strength* will be departed from us. Ah, NEW ENGLAND, Thy STREET will not be *Pure* GOLD; No, 'twill be a filthy *Puddle*; a nasty *Kennel.* Yea, the *Wild-beasts of the Desert* will dwell here; thy *Houses* will be *full of doleful Creatures.*

Instead of Propounding LAWS, to retrench a Mischief, not easy to come at, My Proposal is; That this One OBSERVATION may be Spred thro' the Country, and awfully considered of. Tho' this Liquor may be *Useful*, at some time, & in some things, yet NO MAN THAT USES IT CONSTANTLY WILL EVER BE GOOD FOR VERY MUCH. It will infallibly *Stunt* his Abilities; He will discharge no *Office*, as he ought to do; It will *Besot* him, or, at least very much *Flatten* him, and make him very little better, than a meer GOOD FOR NOTHING. Take him from the *Bottel*, for the STATE, or for the CHURCH, or for the FIELD, hee'l be a *Poor Tool;* God will do little by him; hee'l never be *Excellent.* When a man stands a *Candidate* for any *Preferment*, I move, *That it may be known, whether he be a Friend of the Bottel, or no?*

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Brahmoism — India.

THE Brahmo-Samajh is a religious society in India, Theistic in its theology, the aim of which is to bring about a thorough reformation of Hindoism, abolishing idolatry and all the abominations of cruelty

and immorality which distinguish that form of Paganism. It commenced with the celebrated Ram Mohan Roy, who was born in Bengal in 1774, and died in England in 1833, having been sent there as ambassador of the King of Delhi. He was a very remarkable man, and though his education began as a Brahmin, to which caste he belonged, yet at the age of fifteen he accepted the doctrine of one infinite God, the Creator and Supreme Ruler of the universe; and at sixteen, to the amazement of his father, and of all who knew him, he published a book in which he called in question the religion of his country, and challenged the truth of its doctrines. Of course persecution and exile followed, but the seed sown sprang up, and its fruit is seen in the active exertions and rapidly spreading influence of the *Brahmo-Samajh*, a society which he founded in 1828, before he left for England. And in the action of this new school of theism we think we see the dawnings of a Hindoo Reformation, which will open a highway for the incoming of the pure Gospel, and thus finally deliver the millions of this vast region from the bondage of Idolatry into the liberty of Christian truth and life.

Satisfied that education is an essential element in the coming conflict, the leaders of the movement have already established eight theological schools for training young men in the knowledge of their doctrines, and preparing them to go forth among their countrymen as missionaries and preachers of the reformed faith. Calcutta College, at Calcutta, owes its foundation to them; and seven religious journals are under their control, beside four secular papers edited by Brahmos, who, as occasion permits, help on the good work. In addition to this they have a press from which they issue books and tracts in Bengalee and in English. And in these publications, as well as in their teachings, they insist on purity of morals, the renunciation of polytheism and all idolatrous worship, the abolition of caste, polygamy, &c.; and on the right of woman to be educated, and to be introduced into society. Already females have begun to worship in the same assembly with men, though in seats by themselves, as with the Quakers, and as formerly, with the Methodists. The creed of the Brahmos may be summed up as follows, as we find it in the *Methodist Quarterly*, from which chiefly, and from the letters of Rev. Mr. Dall, the Unitarian missionary in India, we draw the facts respecting this interesting people:

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Brahmoism — India.

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and immorality which distinguish that form of Paganism. It commenced with the celebrated Ram Mohan Roy, who was born in Bengal in 1774, and died in England in 1833, having been sent there as ambassador of the King of Delhi. He was a very remarkable man, and though his education began as a Brahmin, to which caste he belonged, yet at the age of fifteen he accepted the doctrine of one infinite God, the Creator and Supreme Ruler of the universe; and at sixteen, to the amazement of his father, and of all who knew him, he published a book in which he called in question the religion of his country, and challenged the truth of its doctrines. Of course persecution and exile followed, but the seed sown sprang up, and its fruit is seen in the active exertions and rapidly spreading influence of the *Brahmo-Samajh*, a society which he founded in 1828, before he left for England. And in the action of this new school of theism we think we see the dawnings of a Hindoo Reformation, which will open a highway for the incoming of the pure Gospel, and thus finally deliver the millions of this vast region from the bondage of Idolatry into the liberty of Christian truth and life.

Satisfied that education is an essential element in the coming conflict, the leaders of the movement have already established eight theological schools for training young men in the knowledge of their doctrines, and preparing them to go forth among their countrymen as missionaries and preachers of the reformed faith. Calcutta College, at Calcutta, owes its foundation to them; and seven religious journals are under their control, beside four secular papers edited by Brahmos, who, as occasion permits, help on the good work. In addition to this they have a press from which they issue books and tracts in Bengalee and in English. And in these publications, as well as in their teachings, they insist on purity of morals, the renunciation of polytheism and all idolatrous worship, the abolition of caste, polygamy, &c.; and on the right of woman to be educated, and to be introduced into society. Already females have begun to worship in the same assembly with men, though in seats by themselves, as with the Quakers, and as formerly, with the Methodists. The creed of the Brahmos may be summed up as follows, as we find it in the *Methodist Quarterly*, from which chiefly, and from the letters of Rev. Mr. Dall, the Unitarian missionary in India, we draw the facts respecting this interesting people:

"1. There exists one eternal, supreme God, infinite in all his attributes, good and merciful.

2. He is spirit, hence without form.

3. From his worship and service alone can happiness be enjoyed here and hereafter.

4. The worship of God consists in acts of devotion and praise, and his service in the practice of virtue.

5. The soul is liable to transmigration until thoroughly purified, and prepared for the region of eternal blessedness.

6. The only true revelation is pure intuition, by which the thoughtful and virtuously disposed can discover truth and the path of duty."

The following extracts from their publications will give the reader some idea of the kind of men engaged in this reform movement, and will show, as we have said in a previous number of the *Quarterly*, that the Christian missionaries sent into India, in order to deal successfully with such minds, must be educated men, thoroughly trained for the work. Says one of their writers:

"It is evident, from revolutionary movements and every-day occurrences, that the last day of existing religions is at hand. It is our highest gratification to prognosticate, that after such a long time we will be in a position to take leave of all false religions, and hail Brahmoism as the harbinger of the world's real greatness and happiness. . . . The bishops and all other divines may join together to make common cause to put it down; still Brahmoism will not be checked. It will daily, and I hope hourly, grow amid all the terrors, perils, and trials; and the Brahmo missionaries will always be forward in inculcating the saving truths of pure Theism, and propounding schemes for its rapid advancement, and will ever persevere in doing so till the last drop of blood runs through their veins."

Another of their thoughtful teachers, who is evidently a man of clear vision, and ready to acknowledge the debt owing to European influence, says:

"The cultivated tastes of educated natives cannot long submit to the hundred and one pernicious institutions of the country, which are at once a scandal to their reason, a shame to their nationality, and a bar to all material and spiritual advancement. And hence it is, that for some time past there has been a ceaseless and irresistible struggle to shake off all abuses and corruptions which are offensive to the educated mind. The abolition of suttee and infanticide, the establishment of the Brahmo-Samajh, the legalization of widow remarriage, the founding of girls' schools, and the present agitation against the multitudinous evils of polygamy, are among the most significant and

cheering results of that struggle, and constitute the splendid trophies which western education has directly or indirectly achieved in this country within the short space of thirty-six years. Well may we exult amid this bright scene of reform and progress, and sincerely grateful must we feel to those earnest-minded natives and Europeans who, by wise counsel and philanthropic action, have brought it about: and all honor to those who are laboring to advance still further the cause of India's civilization, and realize that great future that awaits her."

In the following we have an indication of their views of, and feelings toward, Christianity; but we must remember that it is chiefly Christianity as represented by Orthodox missionaries, to which they refer. The "outward surroundings" of which the writer speaks, represent, we suppose, the superior civilization and power of English rule, which to them is the political representative of Christianity:

"It is not to be denied, that a few are really charmed with the beauty of Christianity, and convinced of its truth. They take its shelter because they fondly hope it can meet their spiritual demands, and give them salvation. The outward surroundings of Christianity are so vivid, captivating, and popular, so full of imagination and gossip, and the indwelling truths glitter now and then with such a benignant ray, that some who have recently learned to disbelieve in Hindooism are delighted to discover such an easy staircase to the kingdom of heaven. To such great pity is due." [1]

[1] As we have said, the reference is probably to the Episcopal and Orthodox forms of Christianity. The liberal interpretations of the religion of Jesus meet with more favor, as the following, from a letter of Rev. Mr. Dall, the Unitarian missionary at Calcutta, will show:

"This good man came seventy miles, and spent last Sunday with us here at the Mission-house. He is a covenant member of a Brahmo-Samajh which has its *weekly* services in a building set apart for worship and preaching, as strictly as any Christian church. Its discussions turn often upon the life and teachings of Jesus; and about half the members are for his gospel, and half *against* making it the 'man of their counsel.'"

It is evident that with the teachers and believers of this sect, the Christian missionaries will find it necessary to adopt a very different method of attack and defence from that to which they have been accustomed in their intercourse with the ignorant and stupid masses of idolaters. There are new questions to be met, and they are to be discussed from altogether new standpoints; questions of science and pure philosophy, as well as of revelation, of evidence, miracles, faith, and morals. "The only true revelation," say these theistic philosophers, "is pure intuition, by which the thoughtful and virtuously dis-

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Religious World.

The following statement, in substance from the (English) *Spectator*, shows the great changes which political revolutions are working in the status of the Papacy, and which reveal to us the final downfall of that mighty power which has so long overshadowed so large a part of the Christian world. As *a* church it will remain, perhaps for ages to come, but not as *the* church, making treaties with the nations, controlling kings, and dictating to governments the manner in which they shall govern and educate their subjects. The people are beginning to awake to the importance of looking to their rights as men, as well as members of a church; and the press, sounding the note of alarm, is an offset, in some degree, to the subtle influence of the priest, and the secret machinations of the Jesuit:

"Another and a terrible blow has fallen upon the Papacy, a blow which will affect its authority more directly than the series of reverses which have followed the great defeat at Sadowa. Since that battle Venetia has been liberated, and the last hope of regaining power in Italy finally swept away. The Polish Church has been virtually released from Papal authority, the clerical party has been utterly overthrown in Mexico, church property has been sequestrated throughout Italy, and Ultramontanism has been expelled from the kingdom of Hungary. The Concordat which had been octroyed there while the Hapsburgs were absolute, required the sanction of the Diet, and with the revival of constitutional life it silently disappeared. In less than twelve months the Papacy has lost the control of three great kingdoms, a province nearly as large as a kingdom, and property which in Italy, Mexico and Poland must be worth, at the very least, £100,000,000 sterling, and might twenty years hence have been valued at thrice that sum. It is a frightful list of misfortunes, yet it is doubtful whether the whole together will be so bitterly

felt in Rome as the decision of the 26th of July, when the Austrian Reichsrath, by a vote of one hundred and thirty to twenty-four, solemnly decreed that the Concordat should cease to exist."

In consequence of this action in regard to the *Concordat*, a congress of teachers was recently held in Vienna at which resolutions were adopted in favor of perfect liberty of education and the suppression of ecclesiastical supervision. The absolute separation of the school and the church was proclaimed as a principle which should be upheld by the State. M. Lederer, of Pesth, proposed to substitute for the old system of the German pedagogues, which comprised the catechism, arithmetic, and writing, the following: the science of God, the science of the world, and the knowledge of languages. On the other hand, the Papal Prefect has issued a circular to all the bishops in which, among other questions, he proposes this: "How may the evils that spring from the emancipation of the schools from clerical authority, be most successfully counteracted?"

— A work comparing the skull of the orang-outang, chimpanzee, and gorilla, has lately been published by Professor Bischoff, of the University of Munich, in which he expresses the opinion that Darwin's theory and inquiries have failed to prove the descent, or rather ascent, of man from the monkey, and that, if there are some links between the species of gorilla and man, they ought to be still in existence.

— The Charleston *Courier* reported some time ago the discovery of more fossils and relics in the *post pleiocene* beds of St. Andrew's Parish, ten miles from that city, similar to those found there in 1844. Both lots were discovered by Prof. Holmes, of the College of Charleston, who expects to find many more. They correspond in a marked degree with the descriptions of similar ones discovered in the Somme Valley, in France, and in the ancient lake dwellings of Switzerland. Among them are bones of the extinct mastodon, megatherium, mylodon, and tapir; also of the native American deer, raccoon, opossum, beaver, and elk, besides those of the horse, cow, sheep, dog, and hog, and, most marvellous to relate, stone hatchets, arrow and spear heads, and fragments of pottery, all evidently the workmanship of man. One of the hatchets is made apparently out of a tooth, supposed to be that of the sperm whale. Prof. Holmes has obtained from the same deposit two almost perfect teeth of the sperm whale.

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labors of the expedition are for the present chiefly devoted to investigations connected with the sites of the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre. The colossal foundations of the Temple wall, which are "stones of ten cubits and stones of eight cubits," laid by Solomon or his successors on the throne, are now being laid bare at the enormous depth of ninety feet and more beneath the present surface. If bared to its foundation, the wall would present an unbroken face of solid masonry nearly one thousand feet long and one hundred and fifty feet in height! Aqueducts, cisterns, rock-hewn channels and passages have also been discovered within and around the harem, throwing new light on the buildings, the arrangements and the services of the Temple.

— The *Atlantic Monthly*, an ever welcome, entertaining and instructive visitor, opens the New Year with brilliant promise. As a literary magazine it has no equal in the country. Its counts among its contributors writers, one article from whom is sometimes worth a year's subscription. We rejoice in its success and wide circulation, because it is doing good work in uprooting superstitions of "ye ancient tyme," and in preparing the way for truth to enter into some dark places. The wrathful things said in certain "evangelical" quarters, secure it more ready entrance among the thoughtful and cultivated classes.

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were twelve skeletons, each with tomahawk and arrow heads at their sides, ear rings and bracelets of solid silver lying where they had dropped, and piles of what appeared to have been furs, in the centre of the platform, each pile crumbling to dust as soon as exposed to the light. A number of tools, made of copper, and hardened equal to the best cast-steel, were also unearthed.

—The *apparent* discrepancy between the two accounts of our Lord's Ascension given in the book of Acts and in the Gospel by Luke, the latter giving Bethany and the former Olivet as the place where it occurred, is pleasantly removed, and the harmony of the passages shown, in the following from an English journal. And in confirmation of the fact that Bethany included a portion of the southern slope of the Mount of Olives, the reader may consult Dr. Robinson and Dean Stanley's Sinai and Palestine.

"It may, perhaps, interest some of your readers if I recall the substance of a brief dialogue that took place some years since between my servant, a native of Jerusalem, and myself, in our walk from Jerusalem to Bethany over Mount Olivet. We were descending the wooded slopes of the mountain to the south-east, about midway between its summit and Bethany, when I suddenly asked him, 'What do you call this part?' 'We call it Bethany,' was his reply. 'Bethany,' I rejoined, 'but surely this is still Mount Olivet.' 'It is,' he said; 'but we call it Bethany, *because it belongs to the village.*' Nothing but the sequestered beauty of the spot had prompted my remark; but his answer has always seemed to me to supply the best possible commentary on the twofold designation of the locality of the Ascension by St. Luke."

—We have seen it stated that a curious discovery was made sometime ago in Milan in effecting certain repairs in the vaults of the Church of St. Ambrose. In the wall a stone was found with an inscription upon it, commemorating a legacy left to the Milanese by Pliny. The inscription is partly effaced, but is sufficiently legible to show that Pliny left a sum of money for an annual banquet to the populace; another for founding two schools for poor boys and girls; and a third for a public library. This stone was broken, to be used for the sepulchre of King Lotharius, in 960.

We give the following from the English *Free Church Missionaries Record*, which another English journal justly pronounces "an alarming statement:"

"The sums given by the British Government for the support and maintenance of Popery now amount to upwards of £1,000 a day. The organization and agency of the Church of Rome in the United Kingdom is increasing on all hands. Besides a cardinal in Ireland, taking every opportunity to assert his position as 'a Prince of the Church,' and an archbishop in London, insinuating himself into the higher classes of society, there are in England 1,425 priests and bishops, in Scotland 193, making a total of 1,618. This shows an increase during the past year of 49. There are in England 1,014 churches, chapels, and stations, in Scotland 193; giving a total of 1,207, being an increase of 86 in the year. There are in England 63 monasteries (in defiance of law), being an increase of 5 in the year. There are in England 204 convents, in Scotland 16; total 220, being an increase of 9 during the year. There are in England 11 colleges, in Scotland 2; total 13, being an increase of 1. There are 82 professed Roman Catholic members of Parliament, as well as several other Protestants in name, but pledged by the priests to advance the interests of the Romish Church, 26 peers, and 50 baronets, besides committees of various kinds, organized expressly for demanding concessions from Parliament and otherwise promoting Romish interest."

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Meditations on the Actual State of Christianity, and on the Attacks which are now being made upon it. By M. Guizot. Translated from the French under the Superintendence of the Author. Charles Scribner & Co.

Guizot is a great statesman, and as a historian his work on the "Civilization of Europe" has no equal; but he is not a great theologian, nor profound in his "Meditations" on those metaphysical and philosophical questions which are in discussion between the friends and enemies of Religion. Indeed, the chief value of this volume lies in the fact that it is largely historical. The first meditation, embracing some two hundred pages, is a very instructive sketch of the "Awakening of Christianity in France in the Nineteenth Century." It begins with the time when Napoleon, by his Concordat, solemnly set up again the Christian religion which the Revolution had abolished; and, with brilliant sketches of the Christian and philosophical thinkers and writers who have modified and shaped public opinion and belief, from that time to the present, it closes with an exhibition of the actual state of Christianity in France to-day.

Then follow Meditations on "Spiritualism" (as developed by Cousin & Jouffroy in opposition to the Sensualism of Locke), "Ra-

were twelve skeletons, each with tomahawk and arrow heads at their sides, ear rings and bracelets of solid silver lying where they had dropped, and piles of what appeared to have been furs, in the centre of the platform, each pile crumbling to dust as soon as exposed to the light. A number of tools, made of copper, and hardened equal to the best cast-steel, were also unearthed.

—The *apparent* discrepancy between the two accounts of our Lord's Ascension given in the book of Acts and in the Gospel by Luke, the latter giving Bethany and the former Olivet as the place where it occurred, is pleasantly removed, and the harmony of the passages shown, in the following from an English journal. And in confirmation of the fact that Bethany included a portion of the southern slope of the Mount of Olives, the reader may consult Dr. Robinson and Dean Stanley's Sinai and Palestine.

"It may, perhaps, interest some of your readers if I recall the substance of a brief dialogue that took place some years since between my servant, a native of Jerusalem, and myself, in our walk from Jerusalem to Bethany over Mount Olivet. We were descending the wooded slopes of the mountain to the south-east, about midway between its summit and Bethany, when I suddenly asked him, 'What do you call this part?' 'We call it Bethany,' was his reply. 'Bethany,' I rejoined, 'but surely this is still Mount Olivet.' 'It is,' he said; 'but we call it Bethany, *because it belongs to the village.*' Nothing but the sequestered beauty of the spot had prompted my remark; but his answer has always seemed to me to supply the best possible commentary on the twofold designation of the locality of the Ascension by St. Luke."

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If the Addresses given in this pamphlet represent the intellectual strength, the philosophy, science, and learning of the Radical party, we think that Christianity, and even the Church, may be regarded as safe for some centuries to come — unless within that period the children shall grow to be a head and shoulders taller than their fathers. Surely this little booklet with its nine or ten speeches is a very small mouse to be born of the labor of a mountain *supposed* to be of such great height, and so dangerously volcanic.

The meeting reminds us of a Naples beggar on some saint's day, fantastically dressed in rags and cast-off garments of all sorts, shapes sizes and colors; for we have, in this "Report," shreds and patches of Universalism, Unitarianism, Quakerism, Spiritualism, Emersonism, Naturalism, Radicalism *par excellence*, &c., &c. Well, we suppose we must occasionally have these exhibitions of folly, egotism, ambition and attempted leadership, as long as the world stands; and in their way they are very useful. Men of this class are a kind of

"wandering stars," or comets, in the religious firmament, which we may confidently look for at stated periods, however eccentric their orbits; and which contrast pleasantly enough with the steady light and serene splendors of the fixed stars. A passage in Mr. Higginson's "Remarks" is both historical and prophetic. He says:

"I have shared in the enthusiasm of the morning, tempered perhaps by a little of the sadness of maturity, in remembering how twenty years ago there were meetings held like this, almost on this spot; how twenty years ago we heard the same noble aspirations and inspirations from young Unitarianism, echoed as bravely by young Universalism, and seconded, not by Quakerism, but by that spirit which is more than Quakerism, the spirit of Lucretia Mott. What remains to us from all that noble promise then? The young Unitarian ministers who then seemed to lead the way; where are they? Gone, most of them, out of the denomination and out of the ministry, or else shrivelled into conservatives and advocating a creed. Those young Universalist ministers, where are they? It is they in part who now control their body, and keep it immoveable. And now, looking back upon that time long past, it seems as if nothing were left of it to be represented in this organization, except one grand reality, the persistent soul of Lucretia Mott."

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Some of the author's positions are, at least, questionable; some of his distinctions are without a difference; and some unimportant matters are too elaborately and diffusely drawn out; especially in the second volume on Rhetoric, where the analysis is often reduced to so nice a point as to be invisible, or of no practical value. But, with all these exceptions, both treatises are loaded with original and important suggestions respecting grammatical structure, the art of composition, clearness and energy of style, melody and euphony, which we commend to all writers and speakers, to students and teachers; and also to school-committees, provided, always, that they have no sons, nor brothers, nor parishioners, in the school-book trade.

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"Should any professional alarmist choose to confound the doctrine of limited responsibility with that which denies the existence of any self-determining power, he may be presumed to belong to the class of intellectual half-breeds, of which we have many representatives in our new country, wearing the garb of civilization, and even the gown of scholarship. If we cannot follow the automatic machinery of nature into the mental and moral world, where it plays its part as much as in the bodily functions, without being accused of laying 'all that we are evil in to a divine thrusting on,' we had better return at once to our old demonology, and reinstate the Leader of the Lower House in his time-honored prerogatives."

In these extracts Dr. Holmes starts the question, ever old, and ever new, which agitates the minds of all Christian Theists — the question of Divine pre-arrangement and Human responsibility. At what point does the Divine agency end, and the Human agency begin, if the first does end at all? And if mental insanity be inherited, why not moral insanity? And if certain intellectual and moral qualities are the result of pre-natal influences, and sometimes act with irresistible force, where is the argument of responsibility? And is the theory of such elements of character being transmitted from generation to generation established by such an array of facts as to put it beyond question? And if so, is it not *Calvinism* come again in nature? Is it not substantially a certain number of men and women, if not "men and angels," foreordained to damnation, at least in this world? and certain others, by a better inheritance, kept from falling now and always? These may be the questions of an "intellectual half-breed," but "The Guardian Angel" does not answer them. It seems to us that if once the principle is admitted, it becomes a question only of degrees. Facts and observation must decide the matter. Some numbers back we noticed a book by Mr. Fernald, giving some data for the discussion of this very interesting and very important subject.

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10. Short Studies on Great Subjects. By James Anthony Froude. Charles Scribner & Co.

"Scribner and Co." is getting to be with us the synonym of good books. To say they publish a work, is equivalent to saying it is worth purchasing. The above is the sixth of this sort we have had occasion to notice in this number of the *Quarterly*. Whoever reads the volume, especially the papers on "The Science of History," "Times of Erasmus and Luther," "The Dissolution of the Monasteries," and "England's Forgotten Worthies," will find a key to the character of the author as a historian, and an explanation of the great popularity of his "History of England." The same characteristics appear in both — original research, diligent study, accurate statement, and independent judgment. The article on "The Book of Job" is the best exposition of the plan and purpose of that wonderful poem, which we have ever read, not excepting anything from our most profound theological critics and biblical scholars; and the questions of evil, virtue, present retribution, happiness, &c., interwoven with the critical exposition, are deserving of serious thought from our surface theologians. A winter course of Lectures on Job, after the manner of this paper, would furnish the minister ample room for the exercise of all his powers of thinking, and all his stores of learning.

We do not agree with the conclusions of Mr. Froude, or rather, perhaps, with the drift and tendency of his reasoning, in the papers entitled "A Plea for the Free Discussion of Theological Difficulties" and "Criticism and the Gospel History," though it must be confessed that they contain suggestions and inquiries which, though not new, justly challenge the respectful notice of all defenders of the historical records of Christianity. Teachers in our Israel will do well to inform themselves on these matters, and prepare themselves to give to all who ask an intelligent, consistent and satisfactory answer to the difficulties.

11. The Sexuality of Nature. By Leopold H. Grindon. Nichols & Noyes.

We were so charmed with Mr. Grindon's previous works on "The Phenomena of Plant Life," and "Little Things in Nature," that we probably expected too much from this book. At any rate we are disappointed. As regards the sexuality of plants there is nothing new in it; and as regards the application of the principle to Light, Heat, Color, Music, Language, &c., it seems merely a play of the imagination. For example: "The sexual character of *words* is one of the most beautiful *and recondite subjects of philosophy*. The hard, sturdy consonants are masculine; the delicate, musical vowels, feminine." This is pure fancy. With a little ingenuity any number of similar correspondences might be worked up in anything, and in everything. Nevertheless, there are some *facts* in the book pleasing and curious, though we do not quite see the "recondite" in them. The argument illustrating the wonders and harmonies of Creation *may* be spun out so fine as to become invisible to ordinary eyes.

12. Genuineness of the Gospels. By Prof. Andrews Norton. pp. 570. $1.25.

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13. Prayers from the Plymouth Pulpit. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

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14. La Litterature Francaise Contemporaine, and Lecons de Litterature Francaise Classique. New York: Leypoldt & Holt. For sale by Lee & Shepard.

Two very useful and acceptable books to all students and lovers of the best class of French literature. The first gives choice passages, in prose and poetry, from the most popular authors of the XIXth century, with sketches biographical and literary; embracing About, Beranger, Cousin, Chateaubriand, Guizot, Cuvier, Napoleon I., De Tocqueville, Renan, Thiers, &c. The second gives readings from the earlier writers — Froissart, Corneille, Moliere, Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Fenelon, Pascal, Descarte, and others; so that the student is sure to make acquaintance with *classic* French, and to take lessons from those who wrote it with most purity and elegance.

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From the same enterprising publishers we have also "*A Manual of Anglo-Saxon;*" comprising a Grammar, Reader and Glossary, by Prof. Samuel M. Shute.

10. Short Studies on Great Subjects. By James Anthony Froude. Charles Scribner & Co.

"Scribner and Co." is getting to be with us the synonym of good books. To say they publish a work, is equivalent to saying it is worth purchasing. The above is the sixth of this sort we have had occasion to notice in this number of the *Quarterly*. Whoever reads the volume, especially the papers on "The Science of History," "Times of Erasmus and Luther," "The Dissolution of the Monasteries," and "England's Forgotten Worthies," will find a key to the character of the author as a historian, and an explanation of the great popularity of his "History of England." The same characteristics appear in both — original research, diligent study, accurate statement, and independent judgment. The article on "The Book of Job" is the best exposition of the plan and purpose of that wonderful poem, which we have ever read, not excepting anything from our most profound theological critics and biblical scholars; and the questions of evil, virtue, present retribution, happiness, &c., interwoven with the critical exposition, are deserving of serious thought from our surface theologians. A winter course of Lectures on Job, after the manner of this paper, would furnish the minister ample room for the exercise of all his powers of thinking, and all his stores of learning.

We do not agree with the conclusions of Mr. Froude, or rather, perhaps, with the drift and tendency of his reasoning, in the papers entitled "A Plea for the Free Discussion of Theological Difficulties" and "Criticism and the Gospel History," though it must be confessed that they contain suggestions and inquiries which, though not new, justly challenge the respectful notice of all defenders of the historical records of Christianity. Teachers in our Israel will do well to inform themselves on these matters, and prepare themselves to give to all who ask an intelligent, consistent and satisfactory answer to the difficulties.

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ARTICLE VIII.

Sin.[1]

I. GOOD AND EVIL.

ONE may examine the question of sin from two different points of view; to solve it, one may approach it from two opposite sides. Some begin with ontological speculation, others with psychological observation. It is rare that explorers separated thus at the point of departure come together at the end of their researches. The first come out with a theory of sin which is its negation; the others are frequently reduced to the violent process of putting the data of the conscience in harmony with the system of science and of the world. Thus theology offers us, upon this subject, only partial solutions and, so to speak, the terms of an antinomy which still awaits the desired reconciliation. As for ourself, we believe that the question being put by the moral consciousness, it is by the examination of the fact of conscience that we ought to begin, and we believe we have done something useful in faithfully describing and analyzing this fact, if at the same time we have not, by that, even prepared and perhaps pointed out the solution of the metaphysical problem.

Man is conscious of himself as a body and a spirit, that is as a spirit limited and served by a body; that is to say, the spirit is the centre and bottom of personality, while the body is only its organ.

Among the data of the conscience is found the feeling of obligation. Obligation or duty is a law which is imposed upon the spirit, demanding of it conformity to a rule, which is given with the feeling even of obligation. The spirit, indeed, is endowed with a peculiar activity which is the will, and obligation is addressed to the spirit in whatever the spirit may will. Thus the necessity with which obligation is imposed upon the spirit is a spiritual necessity. It is expressed

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the physical organism may be of itself the source of sin, or that sin may be necessarily given with the body. All sins have not their origin in sensual satisfaction. There are sins, such as pride and ambition, which are developed in the midst of contempt for, and the sacrifice of, satisfactions of this kind. But it is none the less true that physical enjoyment is the nearest occasion of sin, and that it is the most frequent form of it. The designation of the flesh as the seat of sin is then adopted upon the principle *a potiori fit denominatio*, and it remains rigorously exact only on condition of designating so much of human nature as is distinct from the spirit and opposed to it. This should be said to explain the biblical use of the term, especially such passages as Gal. v. 13–24; 1 Cor. iii. 1–4.

Ethics and æsthetics have important points of resemblance. The sentiment of the good and that of beauty are equally immediate, and tend equally to a realization, and, so to speak, to an external translation. They are offended in a similar way, the one by evil, the other by ugliness. Besides, we know the beautiful must be an attribute of the good, and that ugliness must be inherent in evil, so that the two terms appear sometimes interchangeable. On the other hand, moral sentiment is distinguished from æsthetic sentiment in that wherein it is related to the will of man, it is distinguished from it equally by the absolute and universal character of the good; beauty does not impose any obligation, and æsthetic sentiment, as well as the artistic faculty, may be wanting in a man without the integrity of his human nature being destroyed. In fine, ethical sentiment gives birth to a judgment of a special nature. We mean the judgment by virtue of which we read the evil act in the personality of him who has committed it, declaring this act culpable, and recognizing him as deserving chastisement. This judgment we pronounce upon ourselves as well as upon others. The tears of penitence and the pangs of remorse, the deep indignation we experience, for example, at an act of cruelty, the tears of emotion drawn from us, on the contrary, at the sight of a heroic sacrifice, are emotions

belonging to that which is most inmost, most profound, and most humane in man. It is there that the ethical phenomenon is separated from every other psychological phenomenon. It is there that the question which occupies us is put; moreover, it is to these authentic data that science ought constantly to return, without ever permitting itself to disregard them or disguise the bearing of them. We establish, in the ethical domain, between the act and the agent, an entirely particular relation. All returns to that. But this relation, what is its nature, its reason? Here we touch upon a new question, that of liberty.

II. LIBERTY.

The sense in which we here take the word liberty is that of formal liberty, that is to say, liberty of choice, or free will. This is the sense which appears to us the best established in popular usage, the one which it concerns us to examine, if man is free or not.

We would observe, however, that the expression generally employed of "liberty of the will" is badly chosen. It is not the will which is meant, it is man himself, it is his person. The will is only the me willing, the me determining itself, and liberty is only the faculty which *the me possesses of determining itself by itself.*

We adopt this definition because it prejudges nothing respecting the question we are about to consider.

The Question. Is this me which itself determines itself anteriorly determined, and by what? In other terms, is liberty absolute or relative?

To define one of these notions, is to define the other. We say then that the absolute notion is that which considers the will as independent of the general connection of causes, or, if you please, as the faculty of making an absolutely new beginning. A writer, adopting the notion in question, has perfectly characterized it. "Man," says he, "is not determined without motives; but the motives determine him only by an act of his will. It is he who makes choice of these motives, and

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who, by his adhesion, gives them their efficacy and makes them motives. The character, that is to say, the special law of the activity of the individual, counts among its factors the individual will itself." [2]

This notion plays a large part in the history of human thought. It is at the bottom of Pelagianism, Scotism and Molinism. It has been adopted by Descartes, and has been raised to a new value by Kant. In our day, it serves as a flag to many defenders of theism and ethics against materialism and pantheism. Upon this notion, M. Julius Müller has reared his doctrine of sin, M. Rückert an entire theology, M. Secretan an entire philosophy. Truly, it is difficult to have at the same time the most illustrious partisans in the Past, and the noblest and most eloquent representatives in the Present. [3]

However, the method by which philosophy and theology usually arrive at this notion inspires us with involuntary doubts. The one starting with the idea of divine liberty, determines itself by means of metaphysical speculation. The other claims absolute liberty because it imagines it impossible to otherwise conserve the sacred interests of ethics. We believe that here still the question is above all a question of observation and analysis.

The testimony of the conscience to liberty is double. It is direct, in so far as man feels himself free to take any part whatever in a given circumstance, free to determine himself at his pleasure. The testimony of the conscience is indirect, in so far as liberty is implied in each moral judgment passed upon ourselves or upon others. Let us first examine the immediate sentiment of liberty.

Unhappily, observers do not agree. We will first take a Cartesian.

"Since, in important deliberations, there is always some reason which determines us, and as one may believe that this

[2] M. Fred. Chavannes, Revue de theologie, t. iv. p. 228.

[3] Julius Müller, *Die christliche Lehre von der Sunde*, 1844, 2 vol. — L. J. Rückert *Theologie*, 1851, 2 vol. — Charles Secretan, *la Philosophie de la liberte*, 1849, 2 vol.

reason creates in our will a secret necessity, of which our soul could not take note,—evidently to experience our liberty, it is necessary to make a test of it in things where there is no reason which inclines us to one side rather than the other. I feel, for example, that, raising my hand, I am able or will to hold it still or will to give it motion, and that, resolving to move it, I am able to move it to the right or left with equal facility; for nature has so disposed the organs movement, that I have no more pain, no more pleasure, in t one of these actions than the other; so that, the more I consider seriously and profoundly what influences me to the latter rather than the former, the more I clearly feel that it was my will only which determined me in it, without which I can find no other reason for doing it.

I know that, when I have in mind to take one thing rather than another, the situation of this thing will influence me to direct on its side the movement of my hand; but, when I have no other purpose than that of moving my hand in a certain way, I find my will alone influences me to this movement rather than to the other.

It is true that, observing in myself this will which makes me choose one of the movements rather than the other, I feel that I make by this means a proof of my liberty where I find agreement, and this agreement may be the cause which moves me to will to put myself in this state. But, in the first place, if I take pleasure in proving and testing my liberty, this supposes that I feel it. In the second place, this desire of proving my liberty clearly influences me to put myself in condition to take part between these two movements, but does not determine me by any means to begin for the sake of the one rather than the other, since I equally prove my liberty, whichever of the two I may choose." [4]

We believe Bossuet has seen wrongly. Vauvanargues has refuted this passage, probably without knowing it, but in a way which is none the less direct for that.

"Our life," says he, "would be only a succession of caprices, if our will should determine itself and without motives. We have by no means a will which may not be produced by some reflection or some passion. When I lift the hand, it is to test my liberty, or for some other reason. When one asks me in sport to choose odd or even, while ideas of the one and the

[4] Bossuet, *Traite du libre arbitre*, ch. 2.

other follow each other swiftly in my mind, mingling hope and fear, if I choose even, it is because the necessity of making a choice offers to my thought at the moment that even is present. Let one propose such example as he will, I will demonstrate to a man in good faith that we have no will which may not proceed from some feeling or some reasoning which gives it birth. It is true that the will has also the power to excite our ideas; but it is necessary that itself be first determined by some cause. The will is never the first beginning of our actions; it is the last resort; it is the index which marks the hours upon a clock and which impels it to strike. That which conceals from our mind the motive power of its volitions, is the precipitate flight of our ideas, or the complication of sentiments which agitate us." [5]

It must be acknowledged: a human will which can be determined only by itself is a chimera. Volition is the spiritual act by which the me is led to an action in which it attains its satisfaction. That is to say, behind the volition there is the desire, the desire which one has defined "a movement of the soul towards an object which attracts it." But back of the desire itself there is the character of the individual, that is that physical, intellectual and moral individuality, in virtue of which such object is agreeable or repugnant to him, excites or does not excite his desire. The determinative and final cause of the volition is then the affinity of the desired object with the personality of him who desires; that is the me, but the me determined.

"The soul, which is created apt to love,
Is mobile unto everything that pleases,
Soon as by pleasure she is waked to action.
Your apprehension from some real thing
An image draws, and in yourselves displays it,
So that it makes the soul turn unto it.
And if, when turned, towards it she incline,
Love is that inclination; it is nature,
Which is by pleasure bound in you anew." [6]

"Take good heed," writes De Maistre, "that, if an object does not act in its nature upon man, it does not depend upon us to give birth to the desire, since we are unable to create in the object the force it does not possess; and that if, on the

[5] Vauvenargues, *Discours sur la liberte.*

[6] Dante, Purgat., xviii. 19—27. Longfellow's Translation.

contrary, this force exists in the object, it does not rest with us to destroy it, man having no power over the essence of external things which are what they are, without him and independent of him." [7] Marvelously well. It is true as the author adds: "To what, then, is the power of man reduced? To work around and upon himself, in order to weaken, to destroy, or, on the contrary, to place at large, or render victorious, the action whose influence he proves. In the first case, what is more simple, that is to remove one's self as far as we would remove a piece of iron from the active sphere of a magnet, if we wished to take it from the action of this power, etc."

De Maistre does not see that, to approach or elude a power, it is necessary that the man have a motive to do so, that this motive supposes a mover, this mover a nature determined, and that thus, definitively, we find ourselves always in the presence of the same difficulty.

But, if it is thus, if the phenomenon of volition presents us only a chain of causes and determined effects, then, as they are not appreciable, what is the liberty of the will? Whence the consciousness of this liberty?

The difficulty of the question, and the question itself, proves that our psychological language is a tissue of metaphors, and that it thus favors the idea of a resemblance between physical and moral phenomena, a resemblance which can here only deceive. The terms of servitude and the ethics of liberty are analogical. They are drawn from what transpires in a man materially constrained to perform an act he detests; there is then opposition between the body which yields, and the will which revolts, and this is what we call constraint or necessity. But this opposition can have no place in the will, because the will is one and simple. It is what it is, it wills what it wills. It cannot be in opposition with itself; it cannot, at the same time, act and not act, will and not will, be and not be.

It is the same thing when we say the will can or cannot, as a man can or cannot will. The expression *ability* implies a

[7] Soirees de Saint Petersbourg, sixieme entretien.

other follow each other swiftly in my mind, mingling hope and fear, if I choose even, it is because the necessity of making a choice offers to my thought at the moment that even is present. Let one propose such example as he will, I will demonstrate to a man in good faith that we have no will which may not proceed from some feeling or some reasoning which gives it birth. It is true that the will has also the power to excite our ideas; but it is necessary that itself be first determined by some cause. The will is never the first beginning of our actions; it is the last resort; it is the index which marks the hours upon a clock and which impels it to strike. That which conceals from our mind the motive power of its volitions, is the precipitate flight of our ideas, or the complication of sentiments which agitate us." [5]

It must be acknowledged: a human will which can be determined only by itself is a chimera. Volition is the spiritual act by which the me is led to an action in which it attains its satisfaction. That is to say, behind the volition there is the desire, the desire which one has defined "a movement of the soul towards an object which attracts it." But back of the desire itself there is the character of the individual, that is that physical, intellectual and moral individuality, in virtue of which such object is agreeable or repugnant to him, excites or does not excite his desire. The determinative and final cause of the volition is then the affinity of the desired object with the personality of him who desires; that is the me, but the me determined.

"The soul, which is created apt to love,
Is mobile unto everything that pleases,
Soon as by pleasure she is waked to action.
Your apprehension from some real thing
An image draws, and in yourselves displays it,
So that it makes the soul turn unto it.
And if, when turned, towards it she incline,
Love is that inclination; it is nature,
Which is by pleasure bound in you anew." [6]

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connection between the thought and the execution, that is to say, between the will and the physical power. It has then significance only when applied to man considered in the totality of his being, and this signification results precisely from the antithesis which the word *ability* forms with that of *will*. Thus we say a man cannot do what he wills, because he is a complex being in whom the will and the execution are distinct and can be separated. But we could not say of the will that it cannot will a thing, for the action and the volition are one and the same thing; to put a stop to willing, would be to put a stop to being. The will can will completely, and is will only on this condition. Every act of the will, in fact, is a choice, and every choice supposes an alternative; there is then only a choice where it is possible to determine one way as well as another. The essence of the will is then to be able to determine otherwise than it does in fact. It is will only in so much as it is choice, and it is choice only on this condition. In a given case, nothing prevents the will determining in one way rather than another, nothing, if not itself. *Servum arbitrium* is properly a *contradictio in adjecto*.

It follows from what has been said that liberty inheres inseparably in the will. The liberty of the will is not by any means an attribute which happens to be joined to the subject; liberty is the essence of the will. We could not conceive the latter other than free, and we could not give to liberty a definition which would not be identical with that of the will, a definition which adds anything to the latter. This has been often recognized. *Liberum et voluntarium*, says Gerhard, *sunt synonyma*. Euler wrote to a German princess: "To take liberty from the mind would be the same as annihilation; which should be understood only of the mind, and not of the actions of the body which the mind determines conformable to its will; for it is very necessary to distinguish the will or the act of the will from the execution which is effected through the ministry of the body. The act of the will could not be prevented by any external force, not even by that of God. But

there are means of acting upon the mind which tend, not to constrain, but to persuade." [8]

We quote De Maistre again. The vivacity of his style is well calculated to place the truth in clearest light.

"If liberty is not the power to do, it belongs only to the will; but the power to will is the will itself; and to ask if the will can will, is to ask if the perception has the power to perceive, if the reason has the power to reason, that is to say, if the circle is a circle, the triangle a triangle, in a word, if essence is essence. Now, if you consider that God himself could not force the will, since a constrained will is a contradiction in terms, you will perceive that the will can be acted upon and led only by attraction. Now, attraction can have no other effect upon the will than that of stimulating it to greater activity, in such a way that it would no more impair liberty or the will than instruction, on some command, would obstruct the understanding." [9]

The notion of arbitrary liberty has a negative and a positive bearing. Consider the first. In speaking of the liberty of the will, we establish a distinction between two species of causality; we characterize the phenomenon of the will as a phenomenon *sui generis;* we cast away the idea of a causal succession similar to that which obtains in the physical order; we assume that the moral domain has its own laws, and that the will cannot be determined by constraint, but only by motives.

Now consider the positive element of the notion. The liberty of the will consists in the necessary relation which, in virtue of the nature of the will itself, exists between it and the me, in such a way that it is the expression of my own being, the manifestation of myself, and that it is determined only by this individuality of which it is the exponent. My will is free, because it is not carried away by any constraint; it is not by any means constrained, because its determination comes from the me. What prevented me, in such or such

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circumstances, from willing the good? My evil inclination. But this inclination was myself. There was no external constraint, and, consequently, there was liberty; for an interior constraint could come only from the me; now, to say it is the me which has constrained my will, is to say that it has not been constrained. One cannot constrain himself.

Whatever side I might take in a given alternative, I could not decide without a motive; but this motive does not act upon me by constraint, it acts as motive; that is to say, by persuasion. That which prevented me from taking the side I have renounced, was not a foreign force, it was myself. There was no constraint, and therefore there was liberty. A free act, once more, is nothing more than a voluntary act, and a voluntary act is none other than an act emanating from the me.

It is clear, from this, that the feeling of liberty contains a certain illusion, viz., the feeling of the entire independence of the me, and its entire indetermination. But this feeling comes from the me itself which is determined, and which I cannot distinguish from myself. In order to feel myself determined, it would be necessary that I should separate myself from my me, become double, and, in some way, bear in my consciousness a duality analogous to that of the soul and the body.

Let us speak of the moral judgment. I condemn myself with bitterness for an evil act. This judgment implies that I *ought not* to do this act. But, if I ought not to do it, then I am *able* to do otherwise. I am able, for I have acted without being constrained; and, if my inclinations have borne me to the act which I have committed, these inclinations constitute precisely my me, and hence I cannot regard their influence as a constraint. The decision comes from me, for it comes from the me. That there should be no liberty, it is necessary that there should be constraint; but who speaks of constraint supposes the duality of two principles, the opposition of two forces, two beings; now I am not two, but one, and I performed my act in the unity of my me. In condemning my-

self, I affirm then, solely, these two things: that the act is bad, that is to say, does not respond to the ideal, and that this act is mine, that is, performed by me. That which is absolute is not liberty, but the feeling of obligation. The character of this creates an illusion upon the character of that. However, the absolute of the obligation itself is nothing more than the peculiar character of the ideal.

Thus, then, the notion of liberty to which we are led is one purely negative and relative. The will is the expression of the me, and this me is never and can never be only a me determined. Is it necessary to add that, if this notion suffices to explain the conscience, it also suffices to guaranty the interests of ethics? It is thus Leibnitz judges. M. M. de Wette and Dorner have pointed out as a fundamental defect of the work of M. Julius Müller the abstract notion of liberty which forms its base. [10] In short, those who would hold under suspicion the opinion of a Schleiermacher, are no doubt less frightened when they find the same doctrine in the Ethique of M. Harless. [11] This is not all. The partisans of absolute liberty depose themselves, without willing it, in favor of the opposite notion. It is interesting to see M. M. Müller and Rückert balancing between the Pelagian idea of liberty and the Augustinian idea of sin; their moral sensibility leading them to suppose that the will must be absolutely free, and the same sensibility obliging them to recognize in the life of the sinner, not isolated acts, but the manifestation of a principle, a nature, a general determination of the me; so that both are reduced to seek in an anterior existence that indetermined me and that will absolutely free which they cannot find here below, but which they do not, however, believe can be dispensed with. In what concerns actual existence, they are of our opinion. They admit absolute liberty in right, they recognize that in fact it does not exist or exists no longer.

There remains, however, still another phenomenon to ex-

[10] The first in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, year 1849, p. 552; the other in the *Repertorium fur die theologische Literatur*, published by M. Reuter, 1845, t. xlix. p. 146 et suiv.

[11] Christliche Ethik. 1842, p. 13 and 33.

alike come to an end. They propose two things: to explain sin by liberty, because without liberty sin is no more sin, and to free God from sin, since, if God is the author of sin, God is no more God, or evil ceases to be evil. Well; these theories of which we speak are, under these two points, in contradiction with their own premises. In fact, if liberty was necessary to Adam, in order that his sin should be sin, it is clear that his act cannot become our act if we have not freely participated with him in it, consciously and voluntarily. Now, instead of the theories of a seminal fall, a federal fall, a solidarity fall, attributing to us a free part in the fall of which we are the victims, they cannot even attribute to us a conscious act. We have become sinners without being able to evade it, without knowing it, without remembering it. Never was the moral sentiment more evidently outraged, and that at the very moment when the question is precisely that of defending and holding it in safety. Can we any better justify God by these theories? No. If we are made sinners by the deed of another, God would necessarily be the author of the sin, since it is He who has established these strange conditions in virtue of which the act of one man alone constitutes all others at once guilty and corrupt.

Modern theology has felt these inconsequences. It has comprehended that the doctrine of absolute liberty has to-day no other resource than the hypothesis of an individual fall in an anterior existence. Thus many theologians and contemporary [17] philosophers have adopted this desperate expedient. The same data led Kant to similar conclusions. With respect to Origin, this doctrine played in his theology a different part.

If the hypothesis in question is, in fact, the last plank of salvation for the doctrine which pretends to explain sin by liberty, we believe that doctrine lost beyond recovery.

In the first place, the hypothesis of a preëxistent fall sup-

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poses what M. Rückert calls *die Wesenheit des Geistes*, the substantiality of the spirit; that is to say, the independence of the spiritual nature of man relative to his physical and corporeal nature. Now, this abstract notion of the spirit is itself an hypothesis little reconcilable with facts.

But the hypothesis in question reposes, moreover, on a notion of liberty which we can no more admit in another state of existence than in this. We cannot imagine a will which itself determines itself, a will which can be anything else than the expression of a nature. Who speaks of will speaks of motive, who speaks of motive speaks of nature; a will without motives is no longer a will; it is arbitrary, capricious, less than that, a contradictory notion. In God himself it is necessary to admit back of will, love, that is to say, a determination. What one calls the intelligible act of liberty is the most unintelligible in the world.

This is not all. Our actual existence, our entire moral life, depends upon an act of which we have preserved no consciousness. One may reply to us that memory appertains to the physical nature of man, not to his spiritual nature. But this answer becomes an argument against the notion of the substantiality of the spirit, of which we spoke a moment ago. The spirit without the memory would be a spirit without consciousness of its own personal identity, that is, at bottom, without personality.

It is thus that we are forcibly brought back again to theories otherwise very different, but which have this in common that they regard sin as having its cause in the conditions themselves of human nature. Between these theories and those which derive sin from liberty, there is nothing; one cannot renounce the latter without falling into the former.

If the fact of sin contains in itself its explanation, this explanation must have been prepared by the data which were laid down in the first part of this article. Sin, we said, appears under the form of a duality of human nature. The flesh contends with the spirit and presses upon it. All theories, we have stated, are agreed upon this point, in so much

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that it is a question only of a description of the actual state of man. Here is what we may add. Man's life is a development, and the point of departure of this development is the animal existence. Now, the very law of the animal life is satisfaction. But, whilst the flesh is here, from the beginning, with all its instincts and all its exigencies, the spirit is awakened, moulded, brought forth only little by little. The principle of the spirit exists, without doubt, with all men, but the spirit is not equal in all. It is susceptible of more or less. Here it will lie dormant, there it will be stifled and almost annihilated. It needs the aid of the organism and that of intelligence, needs education and culture. Moreover, it is from the bosom of the animal life that it is loosed, and, as authority serves as a basis to the individuality, so nature serves as the foundation to liberty, and the flesh to the spirit. Man is a duality, and is fashioned in the struggle. But who speaks of conflict speaks of imperfection, of relative feebleness of the principles which are in conflict. We cannot say that sin is derived from the power of the flesh, for then the flesh would be its seat, and it would no more be sin; it is necessary to say that it comes from the feebleness of the spirit. Likewise it cannot be said that this feebleness of the spirit proceeds from the advance the flesh has made upon it, for this advance constitutes precisely the sin, but does not by any means explain it; it is necessary to say that the spirit is feeble because it is moulded only by means of a development, because it is the fruit of a development, because this development itself is accomplished only in a conflict; it is necessary to say, in fine, that man never becomes here entirely master of sin, because the development of his spirituality is never here entirely achieved.

M. Rückert has perfectly stated the question. The question is of knowing if, in spite of observation and in virtue of a simple postulate, we are to admit the substantiality of the spirit, or if, on the contrary, we are to recognize that the spirit is born and is developed, rather that it consists properly in a development. This is all.

One will perhaps insist, and still another will object, that the condition of the spirit, as we have described it, is the enunciation of the problem, rather than the solution. But this objection will be valid only on one condition: that some one show us in the moral state of man some element which forces us to go outside of this state itself and seek a new cause back of manifest causes. The question is reduced, then, to knowing if we can rest with our notion of sin without finding it the negation of sin. This is now the question to examine.

If sin, says one, proceeds from human nature, it becomes something normal; whilst the idea of sin implies, on the contrary, something abnormal. There is, then, a contradiction.[18] At the point of view where we are placed, this reasoning falls of itself. For the opposition of what ought to be and what is, it suffices to substitute the opposition of the beginning and the end, of the reality and the ideal. The feeling of obligation is the consciousness of the ideal which God has implanted in humanity, and the feeling of sin the consciousness of the distance which separates us from our destination.

Is God, then, the author of sin? I say rather that God has permitted sin as he has willed liberty, as he has willed development. God, in creating a moral being, has consented to the conditions of morality, absolutely as, in placing an end to humanity, he has consented to investigation, to struggle, consequently, to imperfection. To demand of God why man is a sinner, is to ask him why he did not create the infant a complete man, man in the condition of an angel, or why he did not redeem humanity by one act of his power. The answer to all these objections is, that God has willed that man shall be moral, or what returns to the same thing, perfectible. He could have placed him in a state of innocence; but innocence is not morality. He could have given him the liberty of which some dream; but the simple abstract possibility of good and evil would not suffice to constitute the moral state.

[18] J. Müller, work cited, t. II., p. 353.

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M. Rückert has perfectly stated the question. The question is of knowing if, in spite of observation and in virtue of a simple postulate, we are to admit the substantiality of the spirit, or if, on the contrary, we are to recognize that the spirit is born and is developed, rather that it consists properly in a development. This is all.

One will perhaps insist, and still another will object, that the condition of the spirit, as we have described it, is the enunciation of the problem, rather than the solution. But this objection will be valid only on one condition: that some one show us in the moral state of man some element which forces us to go outside of this state itself and seek a new cause back of manifest causes. The question is reduced, then, to knowing if we can rest with our notion of sin without finding it the negation of sin. This is now the question to examine.

If sin, says one, proceeds from human nature, it becomes something normal; whilst the idea of sin implies, on the contrary, something abnormal. There is, then, a contradiction.[18] At the point of view where we are placed, this reasoning falls of itself. For the opposition of what ought to be and what is, it suffices to substitute the opposition of the beginning and the end, of the reality and the ideal. The feeling of obligation is the consciousness of the ideal which God has implanted in humanity, and the feeling of sin the consciousness of the distance which separates us from our destination.

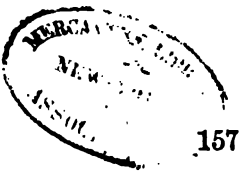
Is God, then, the author of sin? I say rather that God has permitted sin as he has willed liberty, as he has willed development. God, in creating a moral being, has consented to the conditions of morality, absolutely as, in placing an end to humanity, he has consented to investigation, to struggle, consequently, to imperfection. To demand of God why man is a sinner, is to ask him why he did not create the infant a complete man, man in the condition of an angel, or why he did not redeem humanity by one act of his power. The answer to all these objections is, that God has willed that man shall be moral, or what returns to the same thing, perfectible. He could have placed him in a state of innocence; but innocence is not morality. He could have given him the liberty of which some dream; but the simple abstract possibility of good and evil would not suffice to constitute the moral state.

[18] J. Müller, work cited, t. II., p. 353.

M. Julius Müller [19] avows that, in our actual state, the moral consciousness is ordinarily brought out by means of sin. We might ask if it is not always, if it is not necessarily so. M. Müller denies it, relying upon a wholly logical analysis of sin. According to him, we are obliged to imagine a state of purity, which has been destroyed by a first act of sin; now, this act supposes an idea of the sin; consequently, the idea of sin is necessarily anterior to the act, and, consequently thus, this knowledge of sin which forms, in fact, the condition of the moral life, does not necessarily suppose the personal experience of the sin. [20] But all this manner of conceiving things is arbitrary. M. Müller gratuitously supposes a state of primitive purity, a spirit all developed, in fine, a deliberate act and knowledge of sin. At the point of view of development, which is the historical point of view, the point of view of reality, that which first exists, is not the good, the liberty and the spirit; on the contrary, it is the flesh, the appetite, satisfaction. And, if satisfaction is not in itself sin, if it becomes sin only on the awakening and opposition of the spirit, it is none the less true that it is in the bosom of sin, and that by it this awakening takes place. Conscience and sin are reciprocally conditioned, because the moral consciousness proceeds from the moral duality, as the consciousness of the me proceeds from the duality of the body and spirit. Conscience and sin appear at the same time; they are at first half felt, half formed; but they increase in their struggle, and separate farther and farther in their opposition.

The explanation given does not damage the data of conscience. Sin remains sin; it is a chargeable fact, for it is not the result of a necessity; it is a fact which ought not to be, for it is in contradiction with the idea of man such as man himself finds in his consciousness. This explanation, moreover, does not damage the divine perfection, the moment one ceases to conceive the action of God in a mechanical manner, and freely admits the historical and progressive character of his species. We should learn to recognize a revelation in all

[19] Work cited, t. II., p. 349. [20] Ditto, p. 219.



the evolutions of humanity; we should regard redemption as the complement of creation; we should, in fine, relinquish the notion of seeing in the life to come the arbitrary establishment of a given state, as some suppose; the no less arbitrary transformation of sinners, as others imagine; and look for a development continued in spirituality, under the influence of an increasing revelation of God.

We remark, in closing, that the Biblical account of the fall is singularly conformed to the explanation which we have hazarded. The only difference is, that this story seems to attribute to Adam alone a fall which is renewed in each individual. It is unnecessary to add that the received doctrine has completely disregarded the sense of the myth of which we speak. It has taken for a state of ideal perfection what was only the innocent, but unconscious, life of man not yet come to personality. It is not, moreover, considered that, if disobedience is a sin, and, consequently, in a certain sense, a fall, this fall is at the same time the condition of a new and superior state, that is of knowledge, consciousness, liberty, virtue. The profound sense of this myth, the most profound which antiquity has bequeathed to us, is entirely in that word whose exegesis has not been ventured to be taken into the account: "In the day ye eat thereof, your eyes shall be opened; and ye shall be as gods." And further on: "Behold, the man has become as one of us." Nowhere has sin been more boldly presented as the condition of moral development, as the initiation of the spiritual life. [21]

Consider, in resuming, the state of the question we are considering. One cannot make too clear a statement of it. Sin, in the actual order of things, has its origin in the nature of man; the nature of man, as he presents himself to observation, as our own consciousness makes known the fact to us, is determined in the feeling of sin. Upon this point we are all agreed. But it is difficult to hold to the sole fact, renouncing all explanation, because the fact contains in itself a contra-

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fact: At the bottom of faith in a God of love, is found faith in a God who is stronger than sin, or, what amounts to the same thing, confidence that sin is only relative. To believe in the love of God for the sinner, is to believe that God desires our salvation, is to believe that He can save us, is to believe, consequently, that sin is not absolute, and that God will cause it to serve his purposes of mercy. We see, evangelical faith is the immediate and profound intuition of this truth that sin is present only to be denied; in other terms, that it is only a condition of the spiritual development of humanity through eternity.

I have read with profit the replies which have been made to me; however, it does not seem to me that the difficulties with which the system of liberty is surrounded have been definitively removed. I may be allowed to recall, in resuming, the salient points of the question.

1. Absolute liberty, or the liberty of indifference, is a notion which loses itself in its own void. If absolute freedom is freedom only on condition of determining itself by itself, that is to say, without motives, on the other hand a will which determines itself without a motive causes it, is a contradictory idea: it is a wheel which turns in the void and is out of gear.

2. Man himself determines himself, and, in this sense, he is free. But this man who thus determines himself is, from the beginning, determined by his own peculiar nature, and, in this sense, he is not free; which amounts to saying that man is not free in an absolute sense, but only in the relative sense of the word.

3. The invincible feeling of liberty, the imperious consciousness of responsibility, these fundamental conditions of the moral life of man, are explained by the preceding distinction. I feel myself free, because I am free; me, I say, that is, the being given, determined, who bears this name, and

NOTE. This article has caused some dismay in the world in the midst of which it was produced, and has raised lively opposition. One will find the principal acts of this debate in the volume of M. Charles Secretan, entitled: *Recherches sur la methode qui conduit a la verite sur nos plus grands interests*, 1857.

whose determinations constitute precisely the me. I feel myself free, because that which is determined in me is myself, and as I cannot distinguish myself from myself, I am constrained, if you please, but constrained by what? By my nature. Now my nature is still me, and this is why, moreover, in being determined by it I feel myself determined by myself, which comes to the same as saying I feel myself free. Liberty is the inevitable illusion of the consciousness of the me. Thence it happens that we are convinced of the reality of liberty every time we re-enter our personal consciousness, while on the contrary we judge men and society constantly from the point of view of the determined me. One believes himself free, but easily sees that others are not.

4. Theodicy, in order to reconcile the holiness of God with the presence of sin in the world, has recourse to the doctrine of the fall. The fall is the transmission of sin. Adam violates the divine law, and, a sinner, he gives birth to a race henceforth dedicated to sin. Such is the Orthodox doctrine. It is affected with a contradiction. In fact, sin cannot be transmitted by the physical act of generation, without losing its character of a free act; it is only at most a natural phenomenon. In other terms, the sin which inheres in man by the sole fact of birth, becomes a condition of human nature, that is to say, something inevitable and of necessity. It is thus that the idea of the fall is in contradiction with the idea of the liberty it would protect, and relapses into that idea of sin it would escape, that even, to note in passing, which I have essayed to expound and maintain in the preceding pages.

ARTICLE IX.

Africa: Physical, Historical and Ethnological.

PART FIRST.

NOT even the great polar sea of the north, nor the ice-clad lands, muffled with clouds, and dotted with volcanoes, around the southern pole, presents a scene of deeper interest, or phases more wonderful and attractive than Africa. Its northern regions so rich in historical monuments, its southern and eastern borders so long unknown, its great central plateau so extensive and obscure, its majestic rivers, its sandy deserts, its huge beasts and singular birds, its animal and vegetable productions unknown to other lands, all render it one of the most peculiar and attractive portions of the great globe.

I. It is environed on nearly all sides by mountain ranges; —the Atlas, in disconnected elevations, stretches along its northern border, a distance of fifteen hundred miles; the Lunæ mountains, reaching from the Upper Nile down the eastern coast to southern Zanguebar, and thence, perhaps in broken ridges, taking the name of Lupata mountains, extend to the Cape of Good Hope; where the mountain ridges across the southern part of the continent receive the name of Sneuw-bergen or Snow mountains. On the western side, along the land of Hottentots, and the coast of Lower Guinea, are the Crystal mountains. The Cameroon is a group of volcanic formation, near the mouth of the Niger and the bight of Biafra. Farther north, extending easterly from the Atlantic along the coast of Upper Guinea, are the Kong mountains, once supposed to form a continuous chain with the mountains of the Moon across the continent. Enclosed within this mighty amphitheatre, so far as explorations have been made, is a vast, undulating plateau, covered with sandy plains, arid hills, fruitful fields, lakes with no outlet, and inland seas receiving the waters of large rivers, but having no communication with the ocean.

Across the northern part of the continent extends the great desert of Zahara, a thousand miles in width and nearly three thousand in length, interspersed with numerous oases, many of which seem to have been scooped out by some amazing force, to a lower level than the burning sands around them. The same great desert, which appears as if lifted over the valley of the Nile, stretches beyond the Red Sea into Arabia, and as far north as the Syrian mountains; thence east, over the Persian Gulf, into southern and central Persia and Turkistan, and terminating in the great desert of Cobi in Chinese Tartary. It forms "a dreary zone of sand, gravel, or salt marsh, and extends over nearly one-third of the circumference of the globe." Was there once a vast ocean current sweeping over this gloomy belt, lashing the unknown mountain sides, breaking down the hard granitic masses, and depositing the coarser particles of silicious debris along its course; while the finer and more comminuted argillaceous particles were carried along into calmer seas to form the beds of clay in other lands? South of the Great Desert is Nigritia or Soudan, which forms, in the torrid zone, a wide belt of fertile land stretching out its long form across the continent, including the province of Senegambia, from the Atlantic to the mountain region west of the Nile. Still farther down, south of the equator, reaching towards the southern cape and the coast of Mozambique, lies the great unknown — the *terra incognita* — "*Ethiopia unexplored*," which no civilized man, ancient or modern, so far as known, has ever seen! Here grow, in all their wild luxuriance, the old primeval forests, and the rank vegetation of the tropical regions. Here slumber, undisturbed by art or industry, the arid plains, the barren hills, the stagnant lakes, and the sluggish streams of an immense continental basin, not much above, and in many places, perhaps, below, the level of the ocean. Here live and luxuriate, untamed and undismayed, the huge beasts, the clumsy as well as graceful pachyderms, the singular ruminants, the prowling carnivora, the wonderful birds, the loathsome reptiles, and the countless forms of animated beings,

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rising upward, in varying grades through the simian tribes, the ourang outang, the chimpanzee, and the terrible gorilla, to the lower types of "human mold"; and carrying the mind backward into those past geological years, "when gigantic Tigers and Hyenas, with Pachyderms and Ruminants, roamed over the northern continent from the Mediterranean and the Indus to the Arctic Sea." This continent may have been later in the development of its flora and fauna — later, perhaps, in its emergence from the bosom of the "boisterous ocean" than Europe and Asia. It seems, in fact, in climate, animal life and vegetable productions, to resemble the northern continent, when the huge Behemoth found a home and a grave near the Arctic Sea.

Its geological character has received comparatively little investigation, except along its borders. Its primitive rocks are those of other lands; volcanic formations are not uncommon, sedimentary rocks and limestone quite extensive. The Egyptian and Numidian marbles are among the most celebrated in the world — the latter, by its pure whiteness and fine texture, equaling, perhaps, the famous marble of Paros. The limestone of Egypt and sandstone of Nubia are also distinguished for their durability. Of the former were constructed those stupendous works of art — the Pyramids of Lower Egypt, which have so long withstood the waste of time, and whose history is enveloped in doubt and uncertainty; and the latter have furnished material for some of those magnificent structures, along the upper waters of the Nile, whose crumbling remains, in solemn silence, now tell the fearful story of departed greatness. The lime ranges of northern Africa extend across the Mediterranean, and are found in Greece, the isles of the Archipelago and Asia Minor — all indicating that at some distant period, far back in the geological series, there lived and labored, for unknown ages, those microscopic zoöphytes, — the *Rhizopods*, the *Acalephs* and *Polyps*, who have worked out their tiny homes with all the art of a higher intelligence, and left them as countless tombs, hardened, by the long lapse of time, perhaps the action of

heat, into solid rock more enduring than any work of human art — *Monumentum Ære Perennius.*

The valley of the Nile, old in its historical memorials, its magnificent ruins and splendid monuments of human art and human industry, is, perhaps, young in its geological relations. Ancient tradition, as well as physical observation, point to a period — no distant date, late, it may be, in the Post-tertiary, or perhaps later, and within the age of man — when the whole northern part of Africa, including Egypt, was covered with the waters of the Mediterranean. A corresponding subsidence probably existed at the same time in the table lands of Abyssinia. It was then, too, that the area of the Grecian Archipelago was occupied by a rich and fertile country, having long before been lifted up to form the ancient land of *Lectonia*, which has so long lived in the traditions of many nations. In the same great epoch, a vast, inland sea stretched out its glassy bosom north of the Thracian Bosphorus, including the Euxine, the Caspian, and the Sea of Aral, and having islands, perhaps, in its waters, formed by the Caucassian range of mountains. These conjectures, indicated by ancient traditions, find strong confirmation in the discoveries of modern science. Numerous evidences to that effect are found in Moldavia, Wallachia, Bessarabia, and the vast steppes north of Lake Mœotis, or the Sea of Azoph — all pointing, unmistakably, to an extensive submergence of land and a subsequent draining of the waters of the great sea.

At a later period, tremendous changes ensued — terrific convulsions of nature, attended with earthquakes, fire, smoke, and other volcanic phenomena. These rent the rock and opened the great chasm of the Bosphorus, through which the waters of this inland ocean rushed with impetuous violence into the Mediterranean. Modern travellers who have visited the famous Cyanean rocks, near the entrance of the Bosphorus, so terrible to mariners, and so nearly fatal to the Argonauts, find in them conclusive evidence of former volcanic action. Basaltic columns lift their ragged forms a few miles to the west, and on the east, the Asiatic coast still bears the

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marks of submarine volcanoes, as well as other phenomena originating in the same cause. In the same great disturbance, the ancient *Lectonia* settled down, with all its freight of life and being, and was engulfed in the waters, leaving uncovered only its mountain tops as so many island spires above the bosom of the sea. The border lands of Greece and Anatolia must have felt the effects of the same awful catastrophe. The waters of the Mediterranean, surging backwards and forwards, and meeting the dashing current of the Bosphorus, caused a tremendous deluge over higher lands (now known, perhaps, as the deluge of *Deucalion*). Egypt, Libya, and other African lands, were lifted up from the ocean, and assumed the place which they now occupy in the geography of the world.

II. While the physical features of this great continent form a subject of useful and attractive study, it presents on other points a scene of the most absorbing interest. Its northern and eastern portions are intimately interwoven with the earliest records of human inhabitants and civilization known to the world. Its history runs backward into the dim domains of myths, traditions and conjectures. Its southern portion, so far as ancient monuments and the gathered scraps of early history or tradition tell the story, is all a blank — dark as the uncivilized human dwellers of its known and unknown interior. Once it was supposed that the great ocean extended entirely over its southern limb, from east to west, leaving only a small continent or large peninsula formed by its northern and eastern borders. For years and ages the whole subject remained in darkness and obscurity. Attempts were doubtless made by the more civilized nations of the north to explore the mysteries of this obscure region. The commercial enterprise of the Ethiopians of Meröe, which reached out in every direction, could hardly have failed in explorations and discoveries, even beyond "the hills where spices grow," or the *regio cinnamonifera* of the old geographers. But all records, and all traditions of such explorations or such discoveries, if any were made, are now buried

forever, as, from a ship's side, we bury our dead irrecoverably in the bosom of the ocean. Not even their ashes are urned for the inspection and recognition of future generations. It has been affirmed, by writers of the past ages, that late in Egyptian history a king of that country, cotemporary with Josiah, king of Israel, sent out ships freighted with Phœnecian mariners, on a voyage of discovery, to circumnavigate the continent. No record, however, remains of any discoveries, or any advantage gained by this voyage, even if it were actually accomplished. They are said to have sailed from the Red Sea, around the continent, and in three years returned to the Nile by the pillars of Hercules and the Mediterranean. Some years later, a voyage was made by Hanno, a distinguished Carthaginian, more authentic accounts of which have been preserved. He was furnished by his government with fifty ships and a crew of thirty thousand men and women, for a voyage of discovery and colonization, along the western coast of the continent. He passed the Straits of Gibraltar, sailed south, passed the Senegal, and perhaps reached the coast of Liberia. Here he encountered difficulties so great as to induce his return. His voyage, however, though he failed to establish colonies, was not wholly profitless; he made some valuable contributions to geography, and brought back some very marvellous stories, and some specimens of skins, perhaps, of that wonderful man-beast, the Gorilla, which has awakened so much curiosity in our own times. Other attempts have been made at different times in the same direction, but they were of no value, having failed entirely, or were rendered worthless by the incredulity and inefficiency of a degenerate people. And thus the whole southern land remained unexplored and unimproved by all the ancient historic races.

It was not until the close, or nearly the close, of the fifteenth century, that, by the patronage of the Portuguese government and the enterprise of Vasco di Gama, the southern extent of the continent was fully discovered. Some attempts had before been made to discover a southern passage to the East Indies, — a point which had hitherto been reached, by

European nations, chiefly through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Bartholomew Diaz, a brave and adventurous navigator, commanding a Portuguese ship, had, a few years before, reached the Cape of Good Hope; but meeting there the great ocean current from the channel of Mozambique, aroused into stormy fury by heavy winds from the west, and his crew becoming mutinous, he was obliged reluctantly to turn his face homeward without securing the object of his desire, or the honor of further discovery. He named the cape, *Cabo Tormentoso*, stormy cape. But Vasco di Gama, with a fleet of four ships under the Portuguese flag, sailed around the cape, along the southern and eastern coast, extending his discoveries as far as Melinda, a city situated a few miles south of the equator at the mouth of the river Sabaki. It was the capital, or chief city, of a small kingdom of the same name, abounding in citrons, game, and gold. Here he discovered a race of Arabs, black, swarthy, tawny, and white, devoted to the Koran, somewhat advanced in civilization, and engaged in commercial pursuits. It was not many years after these discoveries, that the whole coast of Africa was known to European nations, as it is now marked out and defined.

Its northern and north-eastern borders, however, as already observed, are among the oldest portions of the globe known to history. Egypt, the far-famed land, the land of monuments and ruins, of hieroglyphics and mysteries, of civilization and barbarism, of growth and decay, stands out, gloomy and grand, before the world, as the sepulchre of peoples and nations who have lived, and loved, and toiled, and prayed, and left their footprints, made their mark, and passed away. They have been succeeded by other races less refined and less improved, who have spent their lives, performed their work, and then resigned their places to others still — others more degenerate, and thus degeneracy has followed degeneracy even to the present time. And that old land, fertile, classic, historical, monumental, grand in its memorials and its mysteries, now groans and blushes, in penitential agony, beneath the tread of a most degenerate people, ignorant, haughty,

vindictive, imbruted, with no eye to see its classic charms and past grandeur, and no ear to hear the solemn dirge of buried nations which even the winds waft sadly and mournfully over the land! Even the very names, so rich and euphonious, are made to give place to the hoarse and discordant gutturals of the modern Turk. Alas! "how has the gold become dim, and the fine gold changed"! What a spectacle for the future — what a sorrowful lesson for the present — what a commentary, perhaps rebuke, upon all our high-wrought notions of the progress of civilization!

Far up the Nile, above the cataracts, on the table lands of Ethiopia, now called Abyssinia, or perhaps a part of Nubia, dwelt a people even older than the Egyptians. These are supposed to have been the oldest civilized people in Africa, if not in the world. They occupied a considerable tract of country between the two great branches of the Nile, the Astapus and Astaborus, now called *Tacazze* and *Bahr el Abiad*. During the annual inundations of the Nile, the upper waters of these rivers flowed together, forming a very large island, and thus became a kind of natural defence against sudden and predatory attacks. Probably they extended their empire over the fertile lands towards the Red Sea, and perhaps into the obscure regions of the head waters of the Nile. On the north, the desert of Nubia and other barren tracts hemmed them in, and, in later times, stretched out a shield against attacks from the lower Nile. This tract of country, now known as the small kingdom of Sennaar, for a long time bore the name of Meröe; and within it, born of civilization, and bearing the same name, rose a massive city, not far from the present site of Shendy. A little north of the equator, on elevated ground, and well watered, the whole tract was always pleasant, always fertile, and always healthful. Here, fortified by all the arts and appliances of war, and the strong defences provided by nature, far back in the solemn ages over which the mists of oblivion have settled forever, lived, and prospered, and rejoiced, a most wonderful people. Tall, graceful, athletic, swarthy, intelligent, they gave evidence of having

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sprung from the most perfect and powerful stock of men. As they advanced in wealth, arts, literature, the science of government, and religious enthusiasm, they reached out their long feelers of commercial enterprise, and formed colonies, established commerce, extended the arts, and laid the foundation of civilization in other lands. Their eager efforts swept, perhaps, far up into the gulches of the Lunæ mountains, in quest of gold, or down the spicy borders towards the Indian Ocean, or over the ruddy waters into Araby, for the odoriferous products of these spice-producing lands. Following down the Nile below the rapids, they founded Thebes—such at least, in the deep obscurity that rests over its origin, may safely be conjectured. In the slow progress of years, perhaps ages, this colony grew into a vast, opulent, and powerful city. Farther down, the broad delta of the Nile, half submerged and unfit for human habitation, was gradually, by slow upheaval, or alluvial deposit, lifting itself out of its rushy bed, and dressing up for future fame and eternal remembrance. Then the enterprising colonists, from the new city of Thebes, now old and venerable, or from the mother Ethiopia, still more venerable, issued forth, passed down the great river, took possession of its broad, rich bottoms, and at length, near the upper angle of the delta, erected Memphis,—long afterwards the emporium of commerce, and the central seat of Egyptian power. To the west, outside of the Nilotic valley, the old Ethiopian race traversed, in large caravans, the Libyan desert, to the delightful oasis of Ammon, now *Sivah*. Here, retired from the outer world, secluded from the great activities of secular pursuits, and protected by a dreary desert, they erected that splendid temple, so grand in its retirement, and so long the resort of weary pilgrims to the shrine of Amon *Zeus-pater*. Along the desert, around the Syrtes, over Nu-

NOTE. Even Alexander himself, *magnus omnium terrarum Victor*, paid his devotions to that celebrated shrine. It was here he had that memorable dream, which, near the city of Jerusalem, not long after, had its counterpart and fulfilment, in a procession of Priests and Levites arrayed in sacerdotal white, who went out to meet him, as he appeared with his conquering hosts before that solemn city. His sword was sheathed; he spared the place and the people, and bowed in homage to the God of Israel, as he had before bowed to the *Pater omnipotens* in the Libyan oasis!

midia, as far, perhaps, as Mauritania, led by the hope of gain, this same wonderful people pushed their labor and extended their enterprise, long before Dido, driven from her Tyrian home, sought a refuge with her few followers on the coast of Africa, and founded the city of Carthage.

Time passed on; powerful nations arose along the banks of the lower Nile, borrowing first, and then surpassing, the civilization of ancient Ethiopia. That mysterious country gave her laws, her religion, her arts, her literature, and her enterprise, to the people on the lower waters of this majestic stream; and these at length disdained the maternal sceptre, threw off the yoke, perhaps through Menes, their first king, and stood forth in the full panoply of independent life. Momentous changes ensued; powerful dynasties arose and fell — one, two, aye, more — fifteen, twenty, and still onward, in long, slow, but restless succession; and unknown years, and long ages, passed away, longer far than our narrow and imperfect chronologists are willing to admit. Wealth, effeminacy, corruption — dire triplets in birth, growth and destroying force — entered, in successive ages, into the very temples of civilization. Wars ensued with terrible and appalling strokes and counter-strokes, all along the line of the brave old Nile; sometimes between the people of its upper and its lower waters; sometimes from an overwhelming outward force pressing over burning sands into its verdant valley, and spreading desolation over the grandest achievements of art, industry and peace; and sometimes from a resistless pressure within, swelling, and pushing, and bursting outwards, to subdue, and overthrow, and change the dynasties of other lands. Thus, from a period far back in the shrouded past, the line of rulers continued in ceaseless variation, with the rise and fall of dynasties, until at length arose the shepherd kings (*Hyksos*), an Ethiopian race, perhaps from Meröe, or perhaps Arabian, a stirp from the Scythian hordes who toiled their weary way through the gorges of the Caucassian mountains, or down the Dacian coast of the Black Sea into Thrace, through Asia Minor and stony Arabia into the land of Pyramids, corn and

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The great Sesostris — how far back in the old time did he come into useful life and "achieve greatness"? Take the common view; call it nearly fifteen hundred years before the Christian epoch; eighteen great dynasties were born to robust life, became effete, and passed away; and he stood at the head of the nineteenth. This long line of imperial races extended back only to Menes, the first king of Thebes. All beyond — the fabled gods and demigods, were probably no more than rulers from that mysterious kingdom, Meröe, which lay beyond the Nubian desert on the upper waters of the Nile. Sesostris — his marks and his footprints extend all over Egypt and Ethiopia into other lands. His reign was one of the most brilliant in the hieroglyphical annals of Egypt. He carried his conquests and his improvements into Ethiopia, Arabia, Asia Minor, Persia, Thrace and Assyria; and the records of his great achievements in many lands, have lately been deciphered, by laborious archæologists, as they appear inscribed on the ruins in the various countries over which his vast empire extended.

He died. Other dynasties rose and fell; the nations of the earth, dazzled with the glare of luxury, and deluded by the

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greed of power, foamed and festered, and time at last bore up Cambysis, the untamed tyrant of Persia, who had conquered nearly all the world and now sought for more. Lured by an insatiable thirst for gold, which, he had heard, was obtained in great quantities on the upper Nile, he conducted a large army through Arabia into Egypt, seized Pelusium, the city of mud, fought the Egyptians, took Memphis, and soon after all Egypt submitted to his dominion. He advanced to Thebes, sent out a detachment to subdue the people and destroy the temple in the oasis of Ammon, dispatched ambassadors with a few glittering baubles to the king of Ethiopia, and received in return a huge bow which no Persian archer could draw. Inflamed by the insult, he pushed into the heart of the Nubian desert, was led astray by his treacherous guides, his stores were soon exhausted, famine glared grimly in his face and wasted away his army; still obstinate, he pressed on, gold glittered before him, until his soldiers were driven to the necessity of eating their own starved comrades, when he was obliged to return. He reached Thebes with a squalid remnant of his army; the detachment sent to Ammon was never heard from. Maddened by his disasters, he turned his rage against the Egyptian temples and gods. Having contracted an incestuous marriage with his sister Meröe, in a fit of phrenzy he caused her death, and then gave her name to the tract of country which had formed the end and aim of his ambitious hopes. He left Egypt, died before he reached his imperial home, and his kingdom passed to alien hands. But the Persian monarchs held dominion in Egypt until their power was broken by Alexander. This brilliant conqueror founded the city of Alexandria, which afterwards became so famous as the seat of learning, literature, philosophy, sophisms, art, religion, and everything else pertaining to the waste of intellect, human improvement and civilization.

On the death of Alexander, his ample domains were thrown into confusion, and the whole conquered world involved in fresh disaster. After various conflicts among the different aspirants, something like order was restored; the kingdom

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was divided, and Egypt, Libya, and some other countries, came under the control of Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He was the head of that long line of Egyptian rulers, the Ptolemian dynasty, which, amidst all the fluctuations and vicissitudes of other lands, continued in power until overthrown by the Romans, near the opening of the Christian era. Cleopatra, the beautiful, charming, intriguing, romantic, and licentious Cleopatra, so pleasing in address, so renowned in the arts of dissimulation, the child of fortune, the queen and the courtesan, was the last of the line. She died from the poison of an asp to avoid the shame of gracing the triumph of the Roman conqueror; and then Egypt entered upon its long, dreary, downward course of decrepitude and decay. Under this dynasty, the old kingdom began to assume its ancient grandeur. Alexandria had grown to a great and powerful emporium of arts, commerce and royal splendor. Other cities were revived and beautified; new cities lifted up their heads and put in competing claims for equal recognition; wisdom ruled in the royal councils, popular improvement and amelioration followed, and the whole land wore an aspect of renewed vigor and civilization. The wretched Hebrews, in uncomputed numbers, torn from their patrial homes, found here a residence of comparative peace and prosperity. Their Sacred Books were respected, and were invested, in all their hidden meaning and deep, divine significance, with the drapery of another language. Common fame and careful investigation have awarded to Ptolemy Philadelphus the honor of having given to the world the first version of the Hebrew Scriptures in a foreign tongue. In the diligent study of this version by Jew and Greek, was laid the foundation of that subsequent blending of Greek philosophy with divine announcements, which has thrown a veil of Pagan texture over the beautiful system of revealed truth.

Meantime, northern Africa, bordering upon the Mediterranean, suffered the vicissitudes incident to all human affairs. From an unknown period of passing time, that whole region had been settled by barbarous and marauding tribes, tall,

swarthy, nomadic, Caucasian in contour, and the remote ancestors of the brave, warlike, wandering Moors, so celebrated in mediæval history. Colonies had been planted, chiefly Phœnecian, along the coast, which soon became a governing power. Among them, Carthage, now grown to great commercial importance, first a city of law and liberty, then of corruption and venality, found a formidable rival, across the sea, in the city of Rome. These two cities are said to have had a similar origin, both Asiatic — the one from Tyre, and the other from Troy. Aggressions, or fancied aggressions, on one side or the other, produced a series of wars and conflicts extending over many weary years. At length the Roman power prevailed. Hannibal, by a circuitous route through Spain and Gaul, had entered Italy, and, by the most brilliant successes, been the terror of Rome for nearly sixteen years. The country trembled, until Scipio Africanus, by a most daring and unparalleled movement, left his own city, with a hostile force at its gates, conducted a veteran army across the sea, entered Africa, and commenced a destructive war within its borders. Amazed at this master-stroke of strategy, and summoned by the cries of his stricken kindred, Hannibal returned only to be defeated and driven into exile. Carthage soon after fell and was finally destroyed, and all its dependencies yielded to the dominion of Rome. The wandering tribes, or mixed population of Numidia, now Algeria, which had before been gathered into something like a civil state with kings to rule them, suffered, not long after, the same inexorable doom. The wars of Jugurtha recorded by Sallust, — which occurred, perhaps, on the very grounds so recently trodden by the French Zouaves, — are among the first lessons of every youth in the Latin classics. Farther west the narrow belt, between the sea and the mountains as far as the Atlantic, except a few cities on the coast, had hardly become a civilized land. Yet all this extensive tract, reaching from west to east, along the whole Mediterranean coast, became a Roman province under a proconsular government.

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Meantime, northern Africa, bordering upon the Mediterranean, suffered the vicissitudes incident to all human affairs. From an unknown period of passing time, that whole region had been settled by barbarous and marauding tribes, tall,

swarthy, nomadic, Caucasian in contour, and the remote ancestors of the brave, warlike, wandering Moors, so celebrated in mediæval history. Colonies had been planted, chiefly Phœnecian, along the coast, which soon became a governing power. Among them, Carthage, now grown to great commercial importance, first a city of law and liberty, then of corruption and venality, found a formidable rival, across the sea, in the city of Rome. These two cities are said to have had a similar origin, both Asiatic — the one from Tyre, and the other from Troy. Aggressions, or fancied aggressions, on one side or the other, produced a series of wars and conflicts extending over many weary years. At length the Roman power prevailed. Hannibal, by a circuitous route through Spain and Gaul, had entered Italy, and, by the most brilliant successes, been the terror of Rome for nearly sixteen years. The country trembled, until Scipio Africanus, by a most daring and unparalleled movement, left his own city, with a hostile force at its gates, conducted a veteran army across the sea, entered Africa, and commenced a destructive war within its borders. Amazed at this master-stroke of strategy, and summoned by the cries of his stricken kindred, Hannibal returned only to be defeated and driven into exile. Carthage soon after fell and was finally destroyed, and all its dependencies yielded to the dominion of Rome. The wandering tribes, or mixed population of Numidia, now Algeria, which had before been gathered into something like a civil state with kings to rule them, suffered, not long after, the same inexorable doom. The wars of Jugurtha recorded by Sallust, — which occurred, perhaps, on the very grounds so recently trodden by the French Zouaves, — are among the first lessons of every youth in the Latin classics. Farther west the narrow belt, between the sea and the mountains as far as the Atlantic, except a few cities on the coast, had hardly become a civilized land. Yet all this extensive tract, reaching from west to east, along the whole Mediterranean coast, became a Roman province under a proconsular government.

III. Later years witnessed the dawn of that Divine Light which was destined to work a mighty change in the religious and even political aspect of nearly all the world. Its first rays on the African continent probably fell on Egypt, or perhaps, through the "Eunuch under Candace, queen of Ethiopia," flashed over the upper waters of the Nile, into the calm land of Meröe. To St. Mark, tradition assigns the honor of establishing the first Christian church in Alexandria. Soon after, the rays of light passed over the Libyan desert, and reached Carthage, Numidia, and other places on the Mediterranean coast. The labors of the early disciples were doubtless directed to the elucidation of the simple facts, and moral maxims, of the new system, unadorned by the flowers of rhetoric, and unencumbered by the knotty problems of philosophy. After making many converts among the lower orders of people, they at length reached the ears of the more intelligent and philosophic class. Then came the fearful conflict with Polytheism, which was attacked and defended with spirit and determination on both sides, and which shook the old fabric to its very foundations. Some of the best minds in the Grecian school at Alexandria had been gained over, and entered bravely and victoriously into the conflict. Here lived and labored Clement, the calm philosopher, and Origin, the learned and mystic expounder, and afterwards, Athanasius, the indefatigable theorist, and Arius, his keen and logical, but unfortunate, antagonist. Towards the west, in the desert of Barca, appeared Sabellius, the hair-splitting sophister, farther on at Carthage, Tertullian, the severe and fanatical presbyter, and still farther at Hippo, in later times, lived Augustine, a powerful reasoner, respected in his own times and honored by posterity. The great Christian element had not yet been elaborated into a compact system settled in all its points, with a creed and a governing power of ecclesiastical magnates. As a natural result, differences of opinion prevailed, and different sects arose among the early converts. The Gnostics, sprung perhaps from eastern philosophy, burst, in Alexandria, their second embryonic shell, and issued into active life, with their

Pleroma, and *Demiurgos*, and *Æons*, and other fancies, setting forth a vast etherial, spiritual or supermundane kingdom for the Supreme God and all the creative powers of Heaven and Earth. With a thousand variations under different names linked with Christian truth, they run their glittering course and — died.

It is not to be concealed that the early converts made too great concessions, on many points, to the logic of their opponents. Their own education, their habits of thought and philosophical opinions, led, in a measure, perhaps inevitably, to this result. And thus, their theological system, as it advanced in symmetry and grew to completeness, became invested, perhaps unconsciously, with the glittering drapery of Pagan philosophy. They directed their logic, with all its vigor, against the multiplicity of gods, the existing Polytheism, and sought to establish a single Divinity, a pure Monotheism; but in the dust of conflict they unconsciously elevated the Son and the Holy Spirit to the rank of Deities. They preached Christ, raised from the dead, a living Saviour; and then were pressed with the natural question — what was his nature, what his condition, and what the place to be assigned him in the great pantheon of immortal Gods? Polytheism was rejected; Tritheism could not be admitted; Sabellianism converted actual entities into mere names; but the Gnostics had a ready answer — in the vast *Pleroma*, he was the chief of *Æons*, or perhaps a congenerr with *Demiurgos*, in the immense creative activities of God and the world. But this degraded and made him secondary and inferior; the Orthodox converts dissented, and as a relief, an excuse, and an explanation, they called to their aid the dimly enunciated Triad or Trinity of Plato — three divine hypostases — Mind, Being, Soul. This, however, was by no means satisfactory to the Christians themselves, and led to vigorous and often vindictive disputes. Athanasius of Alexandria, at length, presented his renowned theory of three co-equal persons in the Godhead; Arius, with fierce antagonism, and all the art and vigor of a dialectician, opposed it, maintaining the inferiority

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The Head of the Roman Empire had been secured as a Christian convert by the indefatigable labors of Lactantius. The arm of power was then employed, and the conversion of the heathen was rapid and extensive. But such conversions! — all the old pride, the old vanity and love of splendor, the

old bigotry and the old persecuting spirit, that pertained to the heathen world, were rolled, unchanged, from the temples of idolatry into the lap of Christianity! Terrible persecutions, and untold miseries, had been experienced under heathen dominion, for the conscientious adoption, and honest expression, of religious opinions. Those who had seen so much and suffered so much, now in turn became the persecutors. It is a very singular and yet a solemn fact, painfully developed in all the ages of the world's history, that men who have suffered severe persecutions, or any other great evils, unjustly, as soon as they can gain the power, commit the same enormous wrongs, from which themselves have suffered, and which they have severely condemned. Tyranny makes men tyrants; persecutions make them persecutors. "Is thy servant a dog, that he should do this thing?" Yet not long afterwards this very person, by his rank oppressions, made himself the actual dog which he had condemned. The solemn voice of the ages, murmuring all through the dreary Past, inculcates a lesson of grave and deep significance for ourselves, in the living emergencies of the present hour, and the uncertain condition in which we are placed! "Love, and love only, is the loan for love." Persecutions and tyranny have always had their ready excuses. The emperors felt themselves right, and the world must come to their standard! A very plausible, humane and convenient plea! Under its terrible exactions heathen and heretics were alike proscribed, and suffered alike from the stern bigotry and strong arm of the civil power. Martyrs, on the one side, were canonized as saints, pure and holy, and on the other, were doomed as demons to eternal perdition. Even old, departed saints, like Origen, long regarded as sound in faith and exemplary in life and conduct, were summoned from their silent repose, rejudged, and consigned, with all their works, to the same burning inheritance. It has seldom occurred to such austere bigots, invested with the wand of civil power, that there may be just as much honesty, sincerity, integrity and uprightness, and even far more real, sound, conscientious conviction in the persecuted victim,

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The Christian system, in the mean time, had been diffused among the barbarous nations north and east, chiefly in the Arian form, as most congenial with reason, philosophy and sound sense. It had long before reached Syria, Armenia, Persia, and other lands; and in the beginning of the fourth century, Frumentius had carried the banner of grace into Ethiopia; but whether he reached the ancient Meröe is quite uncertain. After a successful mission among the Axumitæ, a people deriving their name from the city of Axum, near the Red Sea, he received consecration, on his return, at the hand of Athanasius, as Bishop of the Axumitæ or Ethiopians. To the west, the Christian power had become a well-established fact in all the Roman provinces on the African coast. Persecution had raised its bloody hands in this, as it had in other lands. The mild and eloquent Cyprian of Carthage fell a martyr to its vengeful hate. But the reign of Constantine soon changed the face of public affairs; the Pagan persecutions were suspended, and, for a while, the Christians were left at ease to fight among themselves the vigorous battles of *homoousion* and *homoiousion*, as best they could. The scene changed. A new dispute, growing out of the election of a bishop, soon arose, which rent the churches and shook the Christian fabric in Africa to its foundations. The schism of the Donatists was one of the most violent, perhaps useless, and certainly on the most trifling difference, that ever happened in the early church. But passions were aroused and rankled with fierce and stinging force on either side. The Nicene party prevailed. A council at Rome, another at Arles in France, and a third at Milan, condemned the Donatists; and then the imperial edicts of Constantine and others, enforced with the warmest approbation of St. Augustine, sent the contumacious bishops and clergy into banishment or death, and deprived the congregations of their rights as citizens, and forbade the exercise of their religious worship.

Some, seeking refuge in apostacy, returned in despair to the triumphant church; others fled to the mountains, and, under the name of Circumcellians, became a terror to the country for many years. But on these poor, outcast wretches who suffered deprivation, misery, exile, and death itself, for religion's sake, no devout historian of that age has deigned to bestow the crown of martyrdom!

Under a mysterious Providence, darker events were rolling up in shadowy forms, to inflict a terrible vengeance on the guilty authors of these huge wrongs. The northern hordes, from Scythia, Sarmatia, the Baltic Sea, and "Hyperborean Regions," had already commenced their migrations towards the richer, milder, and more populous countries of the south. Rome had seen the cloud, and the whole western empire trembled before its approach. Genseric, with an army of Vandals, Goths, Alani, and other tribes, had pushed his way through Gaul and Spain, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and swept along the whole African coast, as far as Carthage. Known to be an Arian, the Donatists, though differing in faith, greeted him as the deliverer of their country from the haughty rule and relentless persecutions, born of the Nicene creed. Perhaps the retribution was just — perhaps a divine judgment! At all events, the persecutors awoke too late — awoke only to see the Vandal power firmly established, themselves overthrown, with a toleration of the Donatists, and the reëstablishment of the Arian faith.

The zeal of the Catholic party, always intolerant and uncompromising, had for some time, in other parts, been urged with fierce and vindictive energy. Under the Emperor Theodosius, edicts were put in force more severe than had ever before been urged against either Christian, heathen or heretic. The religious worship both of heathen and heretics was forbidden — the temples of the former were desecrated and overthrown, and the latter, deemed the greater sinners and deserving of severer punishment, were allowed the *generous* alternative of civil disabilities, exile, martyrdom, or — renunciation! Many of the most splendid monuments of Grecian architec-

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ture thus perished by the ruthless hand of Christian Vandalism! Even Genseric, barbarian as he was, committed no such inexcusable acts of barbarous violence — no greater devastations than might naturally follow the footprints of foreign war. The destruction of those beautiful Roman villas and magnificent temples that dotted the African coast, was left to the spoilers of a later age. But the Christian spoilers — oh! for the sake of Christ, religion, humanity, art, literature, civilization — bury their barbarous deeds forever out of sight! The temple of Serapis, at Alexandria, which might have been saved, sanctified, consecrated, and converted into a sacred retreat of pure Christian worship, was given over without remorse to utter destruction with a large part of its magnificent library; and that, too, by a Christian bishop! Even the Turks, after their capture of Constantinople, a thousand years later, were less barbarian. The old church of St. Sophia, with its splendid dome, its grand memorials, its sacred associations, and venerable age, was spared by the rude Tartar, Mahomet II., and converted into a Moslem mosque. It is worthy of special note, that the Arian party, whenever it rose to civil power, was less proscriptive, less imperious in its demands, and generally more disposed to respect the rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. When Belisarius, under the Emperor Justinian, overthrew the Vandal power in Africa, he reëstablished the Nicene creed, and with it all the religious tyranny of former times intensified by those severer edicts which drove the Arians, Donatists, and other sectaries, into the mountains, into exile, into feigned conversion, or into death itself and deep perdition! From that time all dissenting sects gradually declined, and after a few minor conflicts, became nearly extinct. The Nestorians and the Jacobites or Monophysites, and perhaps a few others among the early sects, alone survive the lapse of years, the storms of national war, and the scourge of religious fanaticism, and have come down, as ancient relics, to our own times!

It is melancholy to look back over the history of those old

nations of northern Africa, and see how civilization grew up, slowly and surely, to a position of imposing grandeur, and afterwards sunk down to decrepitude and utter decay! Was this the result of an intrinsic corrupting force? Does civilization generate within itself the elements of its own dissolution? All that bears the name has surely, in ages past, been associated with wealth, effeminacy, intrigues, luxury and general licentiousness. Are these the fruit as well as the concomitant of all past civilization? Even Christianity, in its earlier manifestations, had not power sufficient to stem the corrupting tide, infuse into the public heart a higher life, and bring the world into a purer and a fresher growth. In the resistless course of deterioration, the new Evangel was hushed in silence, and its ravishing forms and grand displays served only to quiet apprehensions and leave the whole world to drift along into a common vortex. Grant that other causes — more will be said of these hereafter — exerted a powerful influence, especially in Africa, in overwhelming the past civilization of the world. Yet in other places the same causes were not in force; and there the Christian element, at least in outward form, held supreme control. But with all its mastering force, its high commands and its thorough inquisition into private life, it gradually settled down with the general ebb of civilization to the same common level of semi-barbarism! — Pass on! pass from this sad scene!

"Hope still lifts her radiant finger." A brighter light, a better time, is coming; — though distant be the day — a great Millennium!

ture thus perished by the ruthless hand of Christian Vandalism! Even Genseric, barbarian as he was, committed no such inexcusable acts of barbarous violence — no greater devastations than might naturally follow the footprints of foreign war. The destruction of those beautiful Roman villas and magnificent temples that dotted the African coast, was left to the spoilers of a later age. But the Christian spoilers — oh! for the sake of Christ, religion, humanity, art, literature, civilization — bury their barbarous deeds forever out of sight! The temple of Serapis, at Alexandria, which might have been saved, sanctified, consecrated, and converted into a sacred retreat of pure Christian worship, was given over without remorse to utter destruction with a large part of its magnificent library; and that, too, by a Christian bishop! Even the Turks, after their capture of Constantinople, a thousand years later, were less barbarian. The old church of St. Sophia, with its splendid dome, its grand memorials, its sacred associations, and venerable age, was spared by the rude Tartar, Mahomet II., and converted into a Moslem mosque. It is worthy of special note, that the Arian party, whenever it rose to civil power, was less proscriptive, less imperious in its demands, and generally more disposed to respect the rights of conscience and the freedom of religious worship. When Belisarius, under the Emperor Justinian, overthrew the Vandal power in Africa, he reëstablished the Nicene creed, and with it all the religious tyranny of former times intensified by those severer edicts which drove the Arians, Donatists, and other sectaries, into the mountains, into exile, into feigned conversion, or into death itself and deep perdition! From that time all dissenting sects gradually declined, and after a few minor conflicts, became nearly extinct. The Nestorians and the Jacobites or Monophysites, and perhaps a few others among the early sects, alone survive the lapse of years, the storms of national war, and the scourge of religious fanaticism, and have come down, as ancient relics, to our own times!

It is melancholy to look back over the history of those old

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ARTICLE X.

History of the M. E. Church in the United States of America. Vols. III. and IV. 12mo. By Abel Stevens, LL. D. Carlton & Porter: New York, 1867.

IN the *Quarterly* for October, 1865, we reviewed, at some length, the first two volumes of this work. They contained a history of the beginning and earlier progress of the Methodist Episcopal Church in this country, portrayed the characters of its founders, and recounted their trials and sufferings.

At the time at which the third volume opens, Wesley was dead, and only Dr. Coke remained to represent his designs and spirit. The volume begins with an account of the General Conference of 1792. Dr. Coke presided. All things considered, it was probably the most important gathering the church has ever held. It was at this meeting, that the Itinerancy was fully developed, and authoritatively, even despotically, established. By this system, the church is all in all, the ministry but its pliant instruments — often as unquestioningly obedient as ever were the followers of Loyola. The Bishops send, or withhold, as they deem best. The minister must be guided accordingly. Nor have the local churches a voice in the general administration. They must accept the preacher sent, keep him his allotted time, and yield him up when he is required elsewhere. Of course there is here a vast power, and a splendid opportunity, for the building of a denomination. Able, executive Bishops may shape the church as they will, with such a system, and such instruments. Indeed, the system is almost as efficient, and as arbitrary, as that of Roman Catholicism. It was not, however, without a protest that the plan was adopted. And, when no concession could be gained, quite a considerable body of members left the Conference, never to return. It would be interesting, did space permit, to dwell upon the scenes in the Council Chamber during the discussion upon this subject. We must be content with referring our readers to the History.

The general style and methods of the first two volumes are

pursued to the close of the work. Dr. Stevens, as we have seen, writes history biographically. This method, however great its advantages in certain directions, and the interest it awakens, can be carried too far. We are surfeited with Biography in these volumes. Unfortunately, also, it is substantially the same biography throughout. The experiences, toils, sufferings, of one M. E. pioneer preacher, are very nearly perfect types of all others. We have found the reading thus, a severe tax on our time and patience, although we confess to having been frequently most intensely interested. We have been surprised, however, to find so many of these early Methodist ministers so "holy," "saintly," "consumed with zeal," "learned," and "powerful" in "eloquence." We have not been in the habit of thinking that the world was at all burdened with such men, or that the Methodist, or any other church, contained so large a proportion. Undoubtedly, these men were deeply in earnest, and prosecuted their labors with unselfish zeal and diligence. Had it been otherwise, the present dimensions and unquestionable power for good of the denomination they founded would not have been attained. We have been amazed in reading of the sacrifices made by some of these men. Henry Smith, after recounting labors performed, and sufferings endured, that would appal many men of our day, writes:

"I . . . . ended my Western labors in Nolechucky circuit, Tennessee, March, 1803, having suffered much from bilious fever, ague and fever, dyspepsia, and rheumatism, being then quite a cripple. But being requested by the Bishop, I set out on horseback, and rode about four or five hundred miles in much pain, and came again to my mother Conference. I travelled seven years under the rule that allowed a preacher sixty-four dollars a year, including all marriage fees and presents, from a cravat down to a pair of stockings." [1]

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We miss in these volumes the person and spirit of John Wesley. He was the giant among his brethren. To him all looked, and him all obeyed. There was no one who could worthily succeed him. All who came after him were less in comprehensive perception and power. They were men who, while nobly laboring for their cause, and the truth they believed embodied therein, were yet mainly occupied in shaping the outlines of the great body we see to-day. They have, however, acted wisely, in thus consolidating their strength. Only organized power can long and successfully carry forward the great work of moral reform or religious education. But for its organization, the M. E. Church would be of insignificant influence where now it is so potent. More than eight millions of dollars in one year, for general denominational work, could only be raised by a body so compact, so well disciplined, so thoroughly drilled, and withal so enthusiastic.[2]

Whether the highest type of religious spirit and life is subserved by Methodism is sometimes questioned. We are impelled to the conclusion that it is not. It is a religion of the feelings almost exclusively, and so is wanting in thoughtful breadth and depth. Its theology, certainly, as shown in the first review, is wanting in logical completeness. That it appeals to the sentiments so strongly, however, accounts largely for the ready way it has made for itself among so many multitudes of the humbler classes. In reaching them, it has done a glorious work. It has stooped to the more ignorant, degraded, and superstitious, and it has raised many of these into a more exalted and rational condition. Some of the early M. E. preachers were peculiarly adapted to such classes. Thomas Smith, in a controversy with men who professed to be infidels, offered to pray for them thirty minutes, at the end of which if they were not changed he would yield

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"I then called the attention of the congregation to this awful contract. Many faces turned pale, others trembled with fear. I requested our friends to give up the whole block of seats next to the pulpit. 'Infidelity and Christianity are fairly at issue, and may the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, answer by fire!' I then called on all the official members of the church, and all who could pray in faith, to come up to the help of the Lord against the mighty . . . I cried, 'Let us pray.' At that moment I reckon there were twenty watches drawn from the pockets to mark the time. . . . I held my watch, and proclaimed the time. 'Five minutes of the time are gone! Ten minutes of the time are gone! Fifteen minutes of the time are gone!' And down came a Saul of Tarsus to the floor. . . . 'Twenty minutes of the time are gone!' And down came the second. 'Twenty-five minutes of the time are gone!' And the third gentleman took his seat." The infidels were conquered. "Christianity did at that time triumph over infidelity: To God be the glory!"

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For the good work the M. E. Church has done, and is doing, we honor it. We hope it will accomplish much more. It gives great promise, in that it is awake to the demands of education, is fully alive to the great moral reform questions of the day, and is rapidly drifting to the recognition of the Laity as an integral part of the administrative power of the church. That the denomination is greatly better than it once was, no one at all observant of its career can doubt. But we think it has reached its height of vital activity. Still, by its own momentum it will prosper to some considerable extent. Only by greatly changing in faith and practice could it become, what it yet hopes to become, the great Protestant Church of the future. This change we have no idea can be effected. And so we believe the M. E. Church has reached the height of its power.

Article XI.

The New Birth, and the New Life.

Popular theology divides the human family into two distinct classes; one the very opposite of the other in motive, will and purpose. It assumes that there are two extremes, with nothing intermediate; two extremities remote, and separate, without the possibility of compromise; two different elements that will not unite, but which produce eternal discord. The phraseology of creeds has designated these two classes by the terms penitent and impenitent, the converted and the unconverted, the saved and the sinful.

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The reasons for this division may have been plainly evident to the learned minds which originally instituted it, but it is equally evident to us that it is unjust, because not discriminative, unwarranted and incorrect, because it is not justified by Scripture authority. It is also assumed that although these two conditions, penitence and impenitence, are so widely different, so radically opposed, the one to the other, yet the change from sin to salvation, from impenitence to repentance, from guilt and crime to holiness, from death to life, is but the work of an instant; that there is no graded pathway, no series of spiritual attainments, by means of which we rise into the atmosphere of the spiritual kingdom. Theology assumes, moreover, that there is a sudden change, effected mainly by the grace of God, which brings salvation as the result of a crisis in a life, not as a development. This idea is not sustained by authority, sound judgment, or conscious experience; for it is sufficiently evident that salvation consists of *both* a crisis and a development, a condition and a work, a spiritual birth and a spiritual life, a new endeavor and a patient effort in accordance with a new resolve.

In short, there are three phases of spiritual existence, namely, — impenitence or ungodliness, conversion, and regeneration. Impenitence is the dark and gloomy death of sin; that state in which the lawless and criminal transgressor moves on in his fitful course, without the light of the love of God to illumine his dark soul; a state of alienation from the kind and loving Father. Conversion, or repentance, is a reconciliation, a change; or, more plainly speaking, a new resolve. Conversion is an act of will, but regeneration an experience of life. Conversion is the commencement of a new existence, the act of placing the soul in new relations to Deity and to man. Regeneration is the life of love that springs from accepted truth; not instantaneously, but gradually, thereby passing, by successive accomplishments, into a truer, deeper life of religion, and religious purity.

We find also in human society three grades of character corresponding to these three degrees of spiritual life. There

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is the worldly man, who will be just as good, or just as bad, as his opportunities will lead, or permit him to be, — whose qualities of goodness result from favorable influences, or rather, from the absence of unfavorable ones, but who has no firm principle of righteousness, or moral life. Then there is the cold, conscientious, philosophic man, who means to live, and does live, a life free from censure before the world, who has a serious aim in life, and endeavors to do right because virtue has a sure reward. He may have been born of water, but not of the Spirit. Again, we have the noble, earnest, Christian man, whose soul has been touched by an ever-flowing, enduring ardor, that carries his heart into his daily life, his spirit into his devotion, and lifts his soul toward heaven. The guarded avenues of his heart are open, and he feels pouring into it a higher life of piety, and love. He has begun to live the life of faith, and has become as a little child, simple, earnest, trusting and confiding. He has been born of water, and also of the Spirit. He has experienced the new birth, and enjoys the new life. Now the remark may be already anticipated when we affirm that conversion, repentance, the new birth, and the baptism by water, are identical, the same in spirit, if not in form. They all signify the commencement of a new life, the life of the spirit, the life of Christianity.

The formula of baptism instituted by John the Baptist, in the wilderness, was a symbol of penitence; the outward, visible manifestation of inward repentance, and conversion. John's baptism was of water; He that came after him baptized with the Holy Spirit. John's call was, "Repent, and be baptized; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." The Gospel test was, "If any man have not *the spirit* of Christ, he is none of his." John was the inspired preacher of the *new birth;* Christ of the *new life.* In this respect they introduced no new principle, but a new form. Repentance and regeneration have always been the conditions of admission into the spiritual kingdom. They clothed the requirements of heaven with the rites and customs of earth. They gave to the language

of the Infinite the accent of men. They invested penitence with the outward garb of baptism. They clothed regeneration with the habiliments of the Christian Church.

We ascend the jeweled stairway, rising from earth's sinfulness by repentance, regeneration, to Heaven's eternal kingdom. Beginning at man, by prophet, Messiah, we go up to God, — by water, Spirit, we ascend toward holiness.

We have said that repentance is a change. It may not be the one great crisis of a lifetime, to be experienced at once, and once for all. It must occur whenever we find ourselves drifting in the wrong direction. A ship upon the ocean is driven by the storm. The winds arise, the drifting clouds shut out the light of heaven, and condense the gathering darkness. The vessel drifts away at the mercy of the winds and waves. At last the winds retire, the troubled sea is calm. Then, when the stars appear again, the officers of that ship must find out where she is, — must "take their reckoning," and change their course.

So man, wavering, "is driven by the wind, and tossed." Without the light that shines from heaven, he drifts farther from his course, until at last it becomes him to look to "that light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and change his course, and then and there begin a new life.

Genuine repentance implies sorrow, regret for past transgression, and with this, a firm resolve to lead a new, a better life. We cannot conceive of repentance without these two elements. Any penitence that stops short of this, that is not distinguished by both these attributes, is not genuine, does not spring from good motives. True repentance has keen regrets for past misdeeds; a resolution, firm and virtuous, for the Future. This is the penitence whose seal and symbol was the baptism instituted by John — the baptism of water; and this symbol is justly retained as the initial ceremony of the Christian Church. It is the birth preceding a new life, the commencement of a new experience, the first condition necessary to admission into the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ.

But this step does not complete the journey; this condition

is the worldly man, who will be just as good, or just as bad, as his opportunities will lead, or permit him to be, — whose qualities of goodness result from favorable influences, or rather, from the absence of unfavorable ones, but who has no firm principle of righteousness, or moral life. Then there is the cold, conscientious, philosophic man, who means to live, and does live, a life free from censure before the world, who has a serious aim in life, and endeavors to do right because virtue has a sure reward. He may have been born of water, but not of the Spirit. Again, we have the noble, earnest, Christian man, whose soul has been touched by an ever-flowing, enduring ardor, that carries his heart into his daily life, his spirit into his devotion, and lifts his soul toward heaven. The guarded avenues of his heart are open, and he feels pouring into it a higher life of piety, and love. He has begun to live the life of faith, and has become as a little child, simple, earnest, trusting and confiding. He has been born of water, and also of the Spirit. He has experienced the new birth, and enjoys the new life. Now the remark may be already anticipated when we affirm that conversion, repentance, the new birth, and the baptism by water, are identical, the same in spirit, if not in form. They all signify the commencement of a new life, the life of the spirit, the life of Christianity.

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of the Infinite the accent of men. They invested penitence with the outward garb of baptism. They clothed regeneration with the habiliments of the Christian Church.

We ascend the jeweled stairway, rising from earth's sinfulness by repentance, regeneration, to Heaven's eternal kingdom. Beginning at man, by prophet, Messiah, we go up to God, — by water, Spirit, we ascend toward holiness.

We have said that repentance is a change. It may not be the one great crisis of a lifetime, to be experienced at once, and once for all. It must occur whenever we find ourselves drifting in the wrong direction. A ship upon the ocean is driven by the storm. The winds arise, the drifting clouds shut out the light of heaven, and condense the gathering darkness. The vessel drifts away at the mercy of the winds and waves. At last the winds retire, the troubled sea is calm. Then, when the stars appear again, the officers of that ship must find out where she is, — must "take their reckoning," and change their course.

So man, wavering, "is driven by the wind, and tossed." Without the light that shines from heaven, he drifts farther from his course, until at last it becomes him to look to "that light, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world," and change his course, and then and there begin a new life.

Genuine repentance implies sorrow, regret for past transgression, and with this, a firm resolve to lead a new, a better life. We cannot conceive of repentance without these two elements. Any penitence that stops short of this, that is not distinguished by both these attributes, is not genuine, does not spring from good motives. True repentance has keen regrets for past misdeeds; a resolution, firm and virtuous, for the Future. This is the penitence whose seal and symbol was the baptism instituted by John — the baptism of water; and this symbol is justly retained as the initial ceremony of the Christian Church. It is the birth preceding a new life, the commencement of a new experience, the first condition necessary to admission into the spiritual kingdom of Jesus Christ.

But this step does not complete the journey; this condition

must be followed by another; birth must be succeeded by vitality. The Baptist must be succeeded by the Christ. After the ministry of him who baptized with water, comes the ministry of Him who baptized with the Holy Ghost, and with fire. Christ brought to light the life of the spirit. The work of regeneration was exemplified by his teachings. He came to bring life, — not physical or animal life, for that already existed in its fairest natural grace and beauty; not intellectual life merely, for the life of active intellect, and philosophic thought, was in the vigor of its early manhood when he came. It was not merely moral life, for all that has been considered as tending to the advancement of strict morality, and justice, was demanded by the Jewish Law — but spiritual life, that life whose principal element is love; not a transient and selfish passion, but an all-absorbing, enduring philanthropy, that goes out and encircles the world in its mysterious embrace; that animates humanity with the mystic, thrilling power of a new and regenerating force, sending the world onward, and upward, toward holiness and God.

Its embodiment is in the command of Christ, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, and thy neighbor as thyself." It is that spirit which is heavenly, descending like a dove upon our hearts, and causing them to glow with the fires of zeal, and throb with new devotion. This is the baptism of the "Holy Ghost, and of fire;" and with this experience the soul looks to heaven with trusting faith, and whispers, amid all trials, "Thy will be done."

But perhaps some man will ask: "If I am just, if I do to others as I would that they also should do to me, am I not near the kingdom?" We reply that a man may be strictly just, he may transgress no law of the moral code, and yet his morality may be so dead that its dry bones will rattle; and he may really be very far from the kingdom. In such case what is wanted is "*the Spirit that giveth life.*" Without it, no man is fully prepared for entrance into the heavenly kingdom of holiness, joy and peace.

It is well, when we have strayed from the Father's house,

like the erring prodigal, to repent, and turn back; but we must see to it that we return, animated by right motives and feelings. Much that bears the name of penitence in the world, is prompted by a desire to partake of the "fatted calf." It is not followed by the work of regeneration. The new birth is not followed by the new life in Christ. We are not baptized by the mystic influence of the Invisible Spirit. We are not warmed, as we should be, by the fires of a heavenly zeal, and a fixed purpose to live according to the law of holiness. We want the spirit of love and trust in our hearts, the regenerating influence that follows true repentance, the spirit that moved the early Christians, and strengthened them to endure the tortures of martyrdom, rather than deny their risen Lord; that spirit, which, knowing "only Christ, and him crucified," found in him the Way, the Truth, and the Life — the *way* of repentance and regeneration, the *truth*, that maketh free from the bondage of error and corruption, and the *life*, spiritual and eternal.

Article XII.

The Gospel a Sword.

The words of Christ, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword," (Matt. x. 34,) startle us, at first, like a thunder-clap out of a cloudless summer sky. Our thoughts fly back, through the ages, to that memorable night when the Redeemer was born. We hear the heavenly choirs praising God, and saying, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men." (Luke ii. 13, 14.) All our early impressions of Jesus, and his religion, conflict with this seeming warlike utterance from his lips. We have been taught to regard Christianity as preëminently a religion of peace; peaceful in its spirit; peaceful in its methods and aims. We call its

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Founder the "Prince of Peace." His Gospel, we have been instructed, has abolished the law of retaliation, and substituted the law of love. And we have anticipated a golden era, somewhere in this world's future, when nation shall not lift up the sword against nation, nor learn war any more; but when the dominion of peace and love shall be triumphant in all the earth. Viewing Jesus as the great Peace-maker of the world, it is no marvel that we stumble at his words, "I came not to send peace, but a sword."

At midnight a wild and fearful cry is heard in the streets of a great city, or from some of its wretched dens, "Watch, Watch! Murder, Help!!" The Police rush to the spot. But, for a time, perchance, there is a hotter strife than before. The assassin, or robber, turns on the Police, and seeks to slay or disarm them, not the victim he first sought to plunder, or kill. The Police aim to make peace, but incidentally, and necessarily, perhaps, are obliged to fight; and fighting proves the quickest, if not the only method of securing peace. Now Christ waited not to hear the world's cry for help and deliverance, before he came to redeem it. Men were in disorder and strife; at variance with one another, and alienated from God. Jesus came to enlighten the world's ignorance, to probe its moral sense, to heal its diseases, cast out its demons; and to impart spiritual life. But the world was torpid, sensual, sinful; and hence, the immediate issue of Christ's work is not peace, but strife. He came not to conciliate the world, but to conquer it. Truth can have no armistice with falsehood, nor can righteousness compromise with sin. For the redemption of individual minds, for the renovation of mankind, therefore, a conflict must needs come.

As a Teacher, Jesus was in opposition to the current faith of his nation and age. Strange contrasts are, in these days, often drawn between Christ and Moses; between the Gospel and the Law. The old Hebrew faith is accounted as childish, or savage; and men scout at the idea that it could ever have come from God. But truth in its essence, is as unchangeable as God. Judaism was not the product merely of Moses'

brain, or heart. Jesus acknowledged the authority both of Moses and the Law. But the Jews misunderstood the Law, and misinterpreted the Prophets. Jesus denounced the traditions that made void the Law, yet the Law he came not to destroy, but to fulfill. The worship which the Jews rendered was ceremonial, outward: that which Christ demanded, inward and spiritual. Their brotherhood was restricted to their nation, while Christ's is as wide as the race of man. The observance of forms seemed of more moment to them than righteous deeds; while Christ, who never discarded forms, affirmed that to love God with the whole heart, and our neighbor as ourselves, is better than all sacrifices and burnt offerings. The Jews made virtue to consist, and sin also, in the outward act; Jesus, in the intent of the heart. The Jews were proud and exclusive. Jesus condemned the narrowness of the Jews; and his teachings, comprehensive and spiritual, were entirely antagonistic to the views and spirit of the people among whom he lived, and to whom he preached.

It is common to censure the world as fickle, and to say that it is very fond of new things. Of new *things*, it may be; but can this be affirmed of new principles, or new beliefs? So far from this, men and women, as we see them, are wedded to old habits and ways, to old institutions and laws, to old faiths, and old modes of thought. The masses cannot even be goaded out of their well-beaten tracks, much more easily than oxen, or mules. Polished and courtly men, like the Athenians of old, may love to discuss, as a matter of speculation, or intellectual play, the latest philosophy, or the newest phase of faith; but the multitude worship the Past, and cry themselves hoarse in denouncing the new heresies with which young and noisy babblers expect to revolutionize the world. New truths, or new applications of old and familiar truths, uniformly disturb the world, and stir up strife.

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some of his Unitarian seed in fields overrun with Trinitarian *darnel* and weeds, the Rabbis of the Old Theology were filled with most godly wrath. When Hosea Ballou (the Martin Luther of the great movement that broke in pieces the cast-iron creeds then dominating over the New England mind,) went forth, preaching, in plain and burning words, God's universal grace, unnumbered men and women wept for joy at the new light which illumed, and the new love which thrilled their hearts; but the Priests and Elders of the ancient faiths declared that he had a devil; and that he should be compelled, by law, to hold his peace. The story of Luther is as familiar as a household tale. He rode on the whirlwind, and guided the storm. Erasmus was smooth, effeminate, weak; durst not utter a bold word, shrank from agitation, ran like a scared child before the approaching storm. Luther feared not men, nor devils, and the world was shaken, from circumference to centre, by the utterances of his bold heart and lips.

The doctrines of Jesus were new. His nation was arrayed against him. He was a young man. His parents were unknown to fame. He lacked *prestige*, all the elements, or means, of worldly success. The people, guided by political and priestly leaders, clamored for his blood. Of *that* cross, we need not speak! But, in some souls, the divine seed, watered by *his* blood, took root, and yielded precious and abundant fruit. Out of the Jewish nation, a Church was formed, a Church which has outlived the conflicts of ages, and against which the gates of hell shall never prevail. But what social revolutions were wrought out, what social changes and strifes rent the world in the birth-hour of Christ's Church! Here a father and there a son, here a mother and there a daughter, now a husband and now a wife, left the Temple, forsook the ancient faith; left houses and lands, and whatever seemed to make life sacred and sweet, for Him who was born in a manger, and who died as a malefactor on the cross. The dearest family ties were sundered, and they whose hearts had once glowed with holiest love, stood in the attitude of bitter, life-long foes. The very foundations of

society seemed broken up. Some deplored the spread of the new faith, who yet deemed it politic to "let it alone." Others gnashed their teeth as its conquests extended, and Rabbis and Scribes, Herodians and Pharisees, combined their wit and rage to exterminate the name of Christ from the earth. But still it spread, and still the struggle went on. Judaism and Christianity stood, face to face, contending for life, and for the mastery of the world. Was not the Gospel a sword?

But when that contest ended, when sacrifices were no longer offered in Jerusalem, and the Temple itself had been razed to the ground, when the holy people were scattered abroad, and the new faith went forth among the Gentile nations, it must still necessarily be aggressive and revolutionary in its aim and work. For what are the claims it puts forth? Not that it is one of the great religions of men, which for ages, without supernatural power or wisdom, has exercised a mighty and controlling influence in human affairs, and which, like all earth-born systems, shall finally die. It asserts that it came from God: that it is an expression and embodiment of his will: adapted to all human conditions and needs, and pre-destined to conquer the world. We have but to open our New Testaments, and read Christ's own words, to learn what claims he makes for himself, or upon what his claims are based. "My doctrine is not mine; but the doctrine of Him that sent me." (John vii. 16.) "Upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." (Matt. xvi. 18.) "All power is given me in heaven and in earth." (Matt. xxviii. 18.) "As my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost." (John xx. 21, 22.) "Go ye, therefore, and disciple all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you; and lo! I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." (Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.) Had Jesus been merely a Hebrew sage, or simply a Reformer of transcendent wisdom and power, in the Jewish Church, such words would not have befitted his lips.

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The philosopher cannot speak with absolute certainty, nor justly assume authority over mankind. He does not profess to hold direct communication with God. But the Founder of the Christian Church, from the commencement of his life until its close, declared that God had sent him; affirmed that he possessed superhuman wisdom and power, and that the miracles he wrought were proofs of his divine mission. If we admit what Christ claimed for himself, Christianity is not merely the outgrowth of his own mind. All the words and actions of Jesus point a different way, and assure us that it is a revelation of God's truth and will. Neither can we tell from whence it came, nor by what means it has acquired its position, or power, among the most civilized nations of the earth, except by the admission that Jesus came down from heaven to give life to the world. But a religion born of God must inevitably displace and extirpate all religions born of man, and seek to burn up systems and principles antagonistic to its spirit and sway with unquenchable fire. Nor must we expect Christianity to push its conquests, or consummate its mission, without strife. Men's minds are not like unoccupied houses, swept and garnished, into which new tenants can go at will. "Fill a barrel with wheat," a good Bishop once said to his clergy, "and nobody can find room for tares." But if the barrel has been first filled with tares, something must be emptied out, or there will be no room for wheat. The Western farmer must remove rocks, girdle and fell trees, cut up briars and weeds, plough and harrow the soil, and burn the stubble, sometimes, before he can cast in his seed. So men's minds must be ploughed, and mellowed, and their old creeds shaken and removed, before the truth can find a place in their hearts. But when errors are assailed, and absurdities exposed; when an unpopular or unwelcome doctrine is pushed home, or an earnest protest is made against fashionable vices, or social sins, the peace of society is very likely to be disturbed; and it will be found that the Gospel has come on earth, as Christ came, "to send a sword."

"Preach good morals," is a popular cry to the pulpit, in

our times; "preach the practical, social, solid virtues of life; and, for the sake of peace, let *doctrines* alone." But what is the business of the pulpit, save to preach what Christ came to communicate, or confirm? And is there not a very intimate connection between doctrine and life? Does the fruit bear the tree, or the tree the fruit? Did not the preaching of Christ and his Apostles change the habits and revolutionize the morals of men? And can we ascribe the changes they wrought to anything else than the inspired and inspiring truths they preached? What a man thinks and feels of God, and of himself, of this world, and the next — must not that shape his aims, and mould his life? We must confront error with truth, God's chosen instrument for the redemption and improvement of men. In this work, there must be patience and wisdom, boldness and love: no fear of man, unfaltering trust in God. There are dogmas taught in the Church to-day, baptized with Christian names, which bewilder men's intellects, and madden their hearts. There are creeds making God partial and diabolic, which have driven, and are driving, many of the purest and noblest minds into absolute unbelief, or life-long, agonizing doubt. Viewing life through the murky atmosphere of these dark and repulsive creeds, no man would voluntarily accept it as a gift; and from the future which they portray, every noble soul shrinks back with unutterable horror and pain. Multitudes of men are infidels simply because they cannot accept the Christianity of the Church, and they walk perplexed and sad, with the cares of life pressing upon them, knowing nothing of the comfort and strength which the true Christian Faith can impart. If we affirm that Jesus taught with authority from God, let us proclaim the doctrines he taught. Coming from God, we must believe they have efficacy and power — power to move and to save the world. Nor can we enforce moral duties upon the conscience, or the heart, without preaching the doctrines of Christ. The duties spring from the doctrines, as fruit springs from seed. Sometimes we must preach the doctrines of the Gospel affirmatively, and apply their principles and

The philosopher cannot speak with absolute certainty, nor justly assume authority over mankind. He does not profess to hold direct communication with God. But the Founder of the Christian Church, from the commencement of his life until its close, declared that God had sent him; affirmed that he possessed superhuman wisdom and power, and that the miracles he wrought were proofs of his divine mission. If we admit what Christ claimed for himself, Christianity is not merely the outgrowth of his own mind. All the words and actions of Jesus point a different way, and assure us that it is a revelation of God's truth and will. Neither can we tell from whence it came, nor by what means it has acquired its position, or power, among the most civilized nations of the earth, except by the admission that Jesus came down from heaven to give life to the world. But a religion born of God must inevitably displace and extirpate all religions born of man, and seek to burn up systems and principles antagonistic to its spirit and sway with unquenchable fire. Nor must we expect Christianity to push its conquests, or consummate its mission, without strife. Men's minds are not like unoccupied houses, swept and garnished, into which new tenants can go at will. "Fill a barrel with wheat," a good Bishop once said to his clergy, "and nobody can find room for tares." But if the barrel has been first filled with tares, something must be emptied out, or there will be no room for wheat. The Western farmer must remove rocks, girdle and fell trees, cut up briars and weeds, plough and harrow the soil, and burn the stubble, sometimes, before he can cast in his seed. So men's minds must be ploughed, and mellowed, and their old creeds shaken and removed, before the truth can find a place in their hearts. But when errors are assailed, and absurdities exposed; when an unpopular or unwelcome doctrine is pushed home, or an earnest protest is made against fashionable vices, or social sins, the peace of society is very likely to be disturbed; and it will be found that the Gospel has come on earth, as Christ came, "to send a sword."

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our times; "preach the practical, social, solid virtues of life; and, for the sake of peace, let *doctrines* alone." But what is the business of the pulpit, save to preach what Christ came to communicate, or confirm? And is there not a very intimate connection between doctrine and life? Does the fruit bear the tree, or the tree the fruit? Did not the preaching of Christ and his Apostles change the habits and revolutionize the morals of men? And can we ascribe the changes they wrought to anything else than the inspired and inspiring truths they preached? What a man thinks and feels of God, and of himself, of this world, and the next — must not that shape his aims, and mould his life? We must confront error with truth, God's chosen instrument for the redemption and improvement of men. In this work, there must be patience and wisdom, boldness and love: no fear of man, unfaltering trust in God. There are dogmas taught in the Church to-day, baptized with Christian names, which bewilder men's intellects, and madden their hearts. There are creeds making God partial and diabolic, which have driven, and are driving, many of the purest and noblest minds into absolute unbelief, or life-long, agonizing doubt. Viewing life through the murky atmosphere of these dark and repulsive creeds, no man would voluntarily accept it as a gift; and from the future which they portray, every noble soul shrinks back with unutterable horror and pain. Multitudes of men are infidels simply because they cannot accept the Christianity of the Church, and they walk perplexed and sad, with the cares of life pressing upon them, knowing nothing of the comfort and strength which the true Christian Faith can impart. If we affirm that Jesus taught with authority from God, let us proclaim the doctrines he taught. Coming from God, we must believe they have efficacy and power — power to move and to save the world. Nor can we enforce moral duties upon the conscience, or the heart, without preaching the doctrines of Christ. The duties spring from the doctrines, as fruit springs from seed. Sometimes we must preach the doctrines of the Gospel affirmatively, and apply their principles and

precepts to the circumstances of the age in which we live. They touch every point and experience of life, as they alone solve the great mystery of death. Sometimes we must assail popular beliefs, and moss-grown creeds. We must separate the gold of the Gospel from the tin, and lead, and dirt, with which it has been mixed. There will be complaints: let them come. Kings complain when the people assert their duties and rights. Popes and Councils complain when men undertake to judge for themselves what is true and right. Let Kings, and Popes, and Councils, complain, and fill the world with their clamor and din. Luther, Ballou, Channing, did not cease from their work because the Church was stirred up and cried out STOP. Nor should we. Our work must be cautiously done; done with discrimination and care; but it must be done: and if we decline to do it, or falter at our posts, God can easily put us out of his vineyard, and find bolder and better men to fill our places. Preaching must not be narrow, confined to a few points; nor negative, telling men merely what errors to reject, without insisting on the truths they are to accept and live. Controversial preaching cannot be altogether safely declined. A denomination must advance, or die. Preaching must have sharp points, or nobody will be pricked. Angry disputes, even, sometimes quicken thought, widen the bounds of human knowledge, and purify the Church. Men's minds stagnate without inquiry and debate. When the Church sleeps, the devil broadcasts his tares. Agitation must be accepted as an indispensable condition of life and growth. The days of controversy in the Church have been its purest days. And if men quarrel with preaching simply because it is aggressive and sharp, or are offended by the plain utterance of new or neglected truths, or a direct and pungent application of the truth to individual and public sins and crimes, we must reckon them either among those who refuse to come to the light, lest their deeds should be reproved, or of those who are weak in the faith, and who stumble at the Master's own affirmation, "I came on earth not to send peace, but a sword."

Christianity, as we have seen, must always prove a disturbing force in the earth as its principles are applied to men's habits, and sins, and to the customs, laws, and institutions of the world. First it seeks to rule in the hearts of men. It is an inward, transforming force, working like leaven in the meal. And by the regeneration of individual souls, it accomplishes the subjugation of mankind. This work it would carry forward, indeed, without contention or noise, as silently as sunlight falls on the earth, or snow-flakes descend, were it not for the resistance it meets in the passions and appetites of our lower nature, and in the pride and selfishness of the heart. But its business is to renovate and save the world, not to manage or rule it. Men bound by evil habits, devoted to pleasure, clamorous for wealth or power, are not in haste to welcome a religion which summons them to repentance, and demands personal and perfect consecration to the will of God. Base men, intent on making money, do not like to hear their shams exposed, and politicians denounce the pulpit which insists that the principles of the Gospel bear as directly on political, as on private life. Surely the social vices of the world, or its social wrongs, will never begin the work of self-reform. Prophets must appear. Men, like John the Baptist, must arise, to level the mountains, and fill up the valleys, and make the crooked ways straight, and the rough ways smooth, or the kingdom of God will not come down from heaven upon earth, and men obey here the will of God as it is obeyed by the angels above. But, in every age, there will be Herods to slay the coming King, and sons of Herod to kill those bold enough to rebuke their licentious and drunken ways; and followers of Pilate, who, to please the mob, will release murderers, and crucify the innocent;—for by stripes and blood must the world be healed.

"Let us alone," cry the workers of iniquity, as the truth touches and burns; and they brand those who utter the truth as disturbers of the public peace. Ministers who try to lay the axe at the root of the tree give special offence; and party hacks, loyal neither to country, nor to God, leave their places,

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broken up. The awful tide of licentiousness must be resisted and turned back. Our freedmen must have all the rights and opportunities of men, and room and motive to develop whatever germs and possibilities are buried within them.

Christianity is a spirit and a life. It proposes to regenerate men and society after the image of Christ. To correct all social evils, and abuses, to restrain men's passions, to undo their burdens, to put away their sins, to reconcile man to his fellow-men, and all men to God. But in doing this work it must show itself, not in word, but in power, the unrelenting foe of every custom and practice, of every institution and law, as well as of every habit and sin, which hinders the soul's growth, or is a stumbling-block to the advancement of Christ's reign over the nations of the world. It is an innovating religion, assailing all evil, and seeking to establish order, justice, and brotherhood in all the earth. The world may fret, or mock, and the Church, forgetful of its divine call, retreating from its appointed work, be ready at times to compromise with the world, in the vain hope of quelling the strife; but the Church will be purified by the conflicts from which it timidly shrinks. And the world must be turned, and overturned, until the Prince of the world is cast out, and men's hearts and lives are penetrated and ruled by the love and law of Christ. The Gospel is a belligerent force, and repeats, in every age, the words of Him by whom it came, — "Not Peace, but a Sword."

ARTICLE XIII.

Life and Death Eternal.

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destiny of the wicked, but at the same time to prove their immortality and deathless torment. The occasion for this ungrateful task was found in the gradual, if not rapid, diffusion of the novel, but milder, doctrine in the Evangelical churches of the country, and in communities where the better views of Universalists have not yet been introduced.

It cannot be denied, we suppose, that the doctrine of endless punishment, fashionable and orthodox as it is, is slowly becoming more and more revolting to the better thought and feeling of the Christian world. Its awful severity, its interminable duration, and its utter uselessness, — since its most learned advocates succeed in assigning no conceivable good it is to subserve in heaven, earth, or hell, — all combine to render it an object of unqualified horror, and to excite in every reflecting mind a growing suspicion that it can hold no place in the government of a just and benevolent God. It is not surprising, therefore, that in every Christian community some should be found, who are ready to welcome the thought of annihilation. Though not what any truly Christian soul would desire, and always prays for, it is an improvement, at least, upon the tremendous doctrine of endless torments. True, it meets none of the demands of an enlarged benevolence, and quite as little does it accord with the dictates of an unprejudiced intellect. For it would seem impossible for any Christian to believe that God created a single human soul for the purpose of subsequently annihilating it, or what practically amounts to the same thing, with the clear foresight, and notwithstanding this foresight, that such was to be its fate. Still, if the time shall ever come, — which all orthodox people and annihilationists alike believe will come, — when God must choose between the annihilation of a portion of his creatures and their endless torments; when all hope, all possibility of their amendment is passed and gone; when he is obliged sorrowfully to confess to himself and a wondering universe that he can do nothing more in the way of trial; that he is disappointed, that his original purpose in their existence is defeated, and his moral government over them, with

all its infinite resources, has proved an utter, a sublime failure, and there is nothing better left for the Almighty himself to do; then it seems to me, as it must seem to every reflecting mind, God will take the less of two tremendous evils, and, out of an infinite pity, as well as in infinite justice, will again call forth the same power which at first created, and annihilate what he can neither bless nor govern. We know the thought that God will ever find himself in such a painful dilemma, is not honorable to him, and savors more of some dark form of Paganism than it does of the true religion; and it is gratifying to reflect that there is one denomination of Christians in the world, which worships a Creator whose infinite perfections forbid such childish or impious conceits.

We hardly need remark that the doctrine of annihilation, considered by itself, is repellant and shocking, beyond all expression; though when contemplated in contrast with that of endless torments, its aspect seems gentle and almost divine. And it is only when viewed in this relation, when seen under the shadow of that awful fate, that it commands any attention, or can secure the slightest regard. Remove the doctrine of the popular hell, with its infinite and undying agonies, and the doctrine of annihilation, its feebler twin-sister, will as silently and surely pass away, as the dew of the morning.

Dr. Bartlett's "Life and Death Eternal," indicates respectable learning, considerable acquaintance with recent English and German commentary, and an acuteness, rather than either breadth or depth of intellect, which renders him a keen, if not an able, controversialist. He is lynx-eyed in discovering the weak points of an opponent, though far from being as quick in recognizing the indefensible portions of his own theory. His book is written from the old orthodox stand-point, and in the treatment of his subject, and the severity of his tone, reminds one of the age of Dr. Edwards. He exhibits great earnestness; seems never to have entertained a doubt of the endless punishment of the wicked; honestly thinks it no more than they deserve; is quite willing, if not rather gratified, that they should suffer it; and is fully per-

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suaded that any milder doctrine, though terrible as annihilation itself, would unloose the bands of moral order, plunge society into still deeper revolt and sin, and bring back again "chaos and old night."

As might be expected in a work of this character, Universalists and their peculiar doctrine meet with no favor. Whenever Dr. Bartlett deigns to speak of them, it is in a tone of profound contempt. We are a people "who have manifested no religious life whatever," while annihilationists, it seems, have in many instances been "men of unquestioned piety." From which it is to be inferred that it is better to believe the wicked will be annihilated than reformed and saved, but best of all to think they will be made immortal that they may suffer through all eternity.

It is to be regretted that a work written with so much zeal, should not have been composed under a profounder sense of the nature of the doctrine its author had volunteered to maintain. A single hour's sober *thought* of what endless punishment, as held in the orthodox world, really imports; an honest endeavor to form a faint conception of its awful horrors, would, I think, be a useful mental and moral exercise for any one about to engage in its advocacy or defence. That Dr. Bartlett had ever attempted this his volume furnishes no proof. He does, indeed, in a single passage, tell us that the aspect of the "doctrine is confessedly terrific. The thought of it is appalling, and sometimes confounding, even to those who are safe from its power;" and here such reflections end, and afterwards he is clearly neither confounded nor appalled by it. On the contrary, he engages in its discussion as if it were the commonest, the most natural, the most reasonable doctrine in the world; what all men ought to expect, and at which none should feel amazement or surprise. He appears profoundly unconscious that, in the light of revealed religion, this doctrine has a single shade of improbability about it, or that to render it credible requires either more or clearer proof than would be necessary to establish any opinion, however unimportant or rational. In a word, under the influences of

a vicious education, Dr. Bartlett seems not to have formed any tolerable notion of the magnitude or difficulties of his task; and this feeble apprehension of the nature of the doctrine he was maintaining, runs through and vitiates his whole argument. It allows him to introduce proofs that are either irrelevant, or altogether unsuited to the terrible service required of them. Assuming the doctrine of an endless hell and its infinite torments to be true, and of easy belief, he finds evidences of it everywhere. It appears in words and phrases, quite innocent of being freighted with such a burden; it shines out of parables and all kinds of figurative language; it insinuates itself in a thousand allusions and tacit references, as well as thunders in a few, very few, express proof texts, which yet, from the earliest times, have been regarded as of doubtful interpretation.

This manner of apprehending, or rather, totally misapprehending, his subject, naturally leads to a moral as well as intellectual weakness. In all the dreary pages of his volume, We do not remember to have met a single sentence, or even word, that could be construed into an expression of regret or pity for the awful fate of millions and millions of his fellow-men, which, in his own opinion, he was so clearly demonstrating. Had he been solving a problem in mathematics, or illustrating some principle of political economy, he could not have exhibited a profounder indifference for the result. This stoical superiority to all human feeling, may be, and no doubt is, a very admirable thing in the man whose duty calls him to the advocacy of endless torments, but we should prefer the heart of the Pagan play-writer, who said, "I myself am a *man*, and therefore think nothing *human* foreign to me." But this womanly weakness, this "divine humanity," is not a peculiar outgrowth, we believe, of our fashionable orthodoxy. It may be doubted, indeed, whether its religious profession, and the constant inculcation of this cruel doctrine, do not have the effect of habit elsewhere, — as among butchers and hangmen, for instance, — of making men, and even women, a little hard, blunting their finer sensibilities, narrowing the

suaded that any milder doctrine, though terrible as annihilation itself, would unloose the bands of moral order, plunge society into still deeper revolt and sin, and bring back again "chaos and old night."

As might be expected in a work of this character, Universalists and their peculiar doctrine meet with no favor. Whenever Dr. Bartlett deigns to speak of them, it is in a tone of profound contempt. We are a people "who have manifested no religious life whatever," while annihilationists, it seems, have in many instances been "men of unquestioned piety." From which it is to be inferred that it is better to believe the wicked will be annihilated than reformed and saved, but best of all to think they will be made immortal that they may suffer through all eternity.

It is to be regretted that a work written with so much zeal, should not have been composed under a profounder sense of the nature of the doctrine its author had volunteered to maintain. A single hour's sober *thought* of what endless punishment, as held in the orthodox world, really imports; an honest endeavor to form a faint conception of its awful horrors, would, I think, be a useful mental and moral exercise for any one about to engage in its advocacy or defence. That Dr. Bartlett had ever attempted this his volume furnishes no proof. He does, indeed, in a single passage, tell us that the aspect of the "doctrine is confessedly terrific. The thought of it is appalling, and sometimes confounding, even to those who are safe from its power;" and here such reflections end, and afterwards he is clearly neither confounded nor appalled by it. On the contrary, he engages in its discussion as if it were the commonest, the most natural, the most reasonable doctrine in the world; what all men ought to expect, and at which none should feel amazement or surprise. He appears profoundly unconscious that, in the light of revealed religion, this doctrine has a single shade of improbability about it, or that to render it credible requires either more or clearer proof than would be necessary to establish any opinion, however unimportant or rational. In a word, under the influences of

a vicious education, Dr. Bartlett seems not to have formed any tolerable notion of the magnitude or difficulties of his task; and this feeble apprehension of the nature of the doctrine he was maintaining, runs through and vitiates his whole argument. It allows him to introduce proofs that are either irrelevant, or altogether unsuited to the terrible service required of them. Assuming the doctrine of an endless hell and its infinite torments to be true, and of easy belief, he finds evidences of it everywhere. It appears in words and phrases, quite innocent of being freighted with such a burden; it shines out of parables and all kinds of figurative language; it insinuates itself in a thousand allusions and tacit references, as well as thunders in a few, very few, express proof texts, which yet, from the earliest times, have been regarded as of doubtful interpretation.

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"This subject of endless punishment is immeasurably awful, and, beyond all others, affecting. Few persons can behold it in near vision with a steady eye. The very preacher who teaches the doctrine to others, cannot but know, unless certainly assured of his own salvation (a case undoubtedly very rare), that he may, at that very time, be alleging arguments which are to affect himself, and to evince his own final destruction, as well as that of others. If his heart is not made of stone, he cannot contemplate the subject, as it respects *his fellow-men*, without overwhelming amazement. The destiny of one immortal mind is an object whose importance no finite thought can conceive, no numbers estimate. . . . At the same time, the subject is unquestionably *perplexing* as well as *distressing*. There are, I know, persons who speak concerning it with an air of cool self-complacency, as being, in their view, easy of investigation, and free from embarrassment. I am inclined, perhaps uncharitably, to give them little credit for candor, clearness of intellect, or soundness of character; and greatly doubt whether the doctrine has been investigated by them, either to such an extent, or with such a spirit, as might furnish them with just views of its character."

Dr. Bartlett calls his volume "Life and Death Eternal," and so far as the latter part of the title is concerned, its contents do it honor. Yet he cannot be unaware of the fact that while the New Testament often speaks of "eternal life," the phrase, "eternal death," never once occurs in the whole Bible.

Nor is there the slightest proof of his pretension that "the second death," of the Revelation, is the proper equivalent for this unscriptural term. The Apostle tells us "the wages of sin is death;" but he does not say, what orthodox commentators wish to make him say, that this wages is *eternal death*. To have done so would be to make the wages of sin equal to "the gift of God," which is "eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." The Greek word here rendered *wages*, signifies, as the lexicographers and commentators tell us, the pay given to soldiers, which was anciently rendered in part in the form of meat and other articles of food, that is, their daily *rations*, and therefore admirably expresses the immediate rewards of a life of sin, and also suggests their temporal character. Soldiers receive their pay as they go, and it ceases when their service ends. But the gift of God is independent of all finite service, and hence assumes such proportions as the infinite Giver pleases to confer.

Our author devotes several of the earlier chapters of his book to an exposition of what he calls "the fundamental vice" of the annihilation theory, and charges its advocates with degrading the phraseology of Scripture "to a gross, material meaning." They insist, for instance, that *death*, when spoken of as the punishment of sin, means absolute annihilation, and so of a great many other terms and phrases. Dr. Bartlett, on the other hand, avoids this degradation of meaning only to fall into an aggravated form of the same vice, on the opposite side; for while he justly condemns the annihilationist abuse of language, he often finds a "pregnant sense" in these terms, which carries their meaning beyond all fact or reason. Thus *death*, when applied to the wicked, does not mean "the extinction of the soul's being, but of its well-being;" and so *destruction*, *perdition*, and the like, "when applied to the prospects of the sinner," signify the destruction "of his whole highest welfare here and hereafter." Of the two mistakes, that of Dr. Bartlett is obviously the most extravagant and mischievous. While that of the annihilationist is low and gross, that of Dr. Bartlett is simply prepos-

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terous and horrible. And even on the score of *materializing* Scripture we are not certain that our author has much superiority. He believes, for instance, in the final resurrection of this material body, and, to be consistent, must also believe that *Gehenna*, his final hell, is to be a place with all material adjuncts; from which it would necessarily follow that the fire and worms, the chattering of teeth, and other expressions employed in reference to his future torments, are not figurative at all, and instead of representing "spiritual transactions," as he says, only describe, with a fearful literalness, the most outward and real of all material things.

With the common opinion that sin is a thing very hateful in the sight of God, Dr. Bartlett by no means sympathizes. On the contrary, he sees nothing in it, in the slightest degree inconsistent with the divine perfections, nor does he recognize any indications of weakness or disorder, that would suggest its temporary nature. So far from this, it seems in his opinion to possess a kind of immortal vigor. Still he does not believe it to be self-subsistent, as he concedes that God could annihilate it, if he wished, either by the total destruction of the sinner, or by removing his evil propensities. But in point of fact, God is not inclined to do either of these things. He has shown no disposition to keep sin out of the universe. He neither excluded it in the outset, nor did he immediately expel it on its first entrance. He has taken no pains to limit it either in point of time or diffusion, but on the contrary, seems to be doing quite as much as a holy being could decently do to promote its interests. It would appear, indeed, as if God rather loves sin than hates it, and is taking excellent care that it shall not be brought to an end, or his empire left destitute of a desirable quantity of so important an element. But that we may not be suspected of misrepresenting our learned author, read the following:

"God did not exclude nor banish sin. He did not narrow it down to the least possible time nor to the fewest possible individuals. He has not exterminated the sinning race, but has suffered it to drag on its protracted and sinful career. He has

continued in existence for an unknown length of time a race of sinful beings to whom we have no knowledge that any offer of recovery was ever made. He prolongs on earth the lives of multitudes of sinners who do not repent, and who, he knew beforehand, would not repent. Thousands and millions of these sinners he suffers to prolong their lives on earth, not only to no purpose so far as their own final welfare is concerned, but, *as far as we can see*, to no purpose as a warning to other sinners; yea, rather to introduce other sinners into the world, and to be the means of keeping countless thousands away from God. Such are the facts. They *prove* that the permission of sin and suffering is perfectly consistent with the perfections of God; that the reasons for their continuance do not necessarily contemplate the recovery, or even the probation, of the sinner; and that those reasons are wholly beyond our complete apprehension."

So far, then, as *Dr. Bartlett can see*, the practical working of the divine government has hitherto been in every way most favorable to sin. We hardly know what more God could well have done to encourage it and promote its interests. We call God *holy*, and speak of his government as *good;* but if Dr. Bartlett's views are just, we shall be obliged hereafter to use these terms in a greatly modified sense. To multiply sinners; to people the kingdom of Satan; and to fill a large part of the universe with endless sin and wretchedness, is not the work of the holy God whom the Scriptures reveal.

As Dr. Bartlett reasons, the existence of any amount of evil, however small, here in the present world, is conclusive proof that no amount, however great, or long continued, is incredible. If some sin and misery are to-day consistent with the purposes of a holy God, then ever so much, though extending through all eternity, must be equally consistent. To the suggestion that "the *eternal* continuance of evil is a very different thing from its existence here in this world," Dr. Bartlett replies, "How different? Not in principle, certainly, but only in degree. It is only more of the very same thing. If there is nothing incompatible with the perfections of God in its existence to-day, or the past six thousand years, how is there to-morrow, or any other day, or six thousand years, or

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This whole course of argumentation seems to be predicated on the assumption that whatever is permissible in the government of God at any given moment, must be equally permissible at all times, and forever; and that if some degree of evil is allowable, then, all possible degrees of it must be. On this principle, if it can be shown that an infant has suffered a momentary pain from the scratch of a pin, it may, for aught we can say to the contrary, undergo the agonies of being burned in hell-fire forever. If the first suffering is not inconsistent with the perfections of God, who will venture to say that the latter is? There is no difference, as Dr. Bartlett would say, "in principle, but only in degree. It is only more of the very same thing." It is to be regretted that the old advocates of infant damnation had not enjoyed the advantages of this modern logic, and then that delightful doctrine need not have fallen into such undeserved disrepute. But the great misfortune of this kind of reasoning is, that it either proves too much, or it proves nothing. It is a sort of two-edged sword, and, in the most skillful hands, is as likely to kill friends as foes. How, upon their reasoning, do Dr. Bartlett and Archbishop Whately know that the whole human race, themselves included, are not to be damned forever? All

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before the architect's design is completed. But to argue that, because these things were allowable in the process of construction, they must, or even may, be permitted forever, is simple self-stultification, to which nothing but a bad cause and blind prejudice, or over-heated zeal, could betray a man of common sense.

We commonly, perhaps habitually, speak of God's *permitting* sin, and Dr. Bartlett seems to use this and corresponding terms, as if they express a certain moral *acquiescence* in its existence. In point of fact, however, the *possibility* of sin is *unavoidable*, in a moral system. The very notion of such a system implies moral freedom in its subjects; and such freedom is inconceivable, nay, clearly cannot exist, if the possibility of sin is excluded. We cannot possess the power of acting morally right, without at the same time being able to act morally wrong. We commend a child for speaking the truth, but such commendation would have no significance if the child could not have uttered a falsehood. Indeed, all praise and blame, all reward and punishment, would be absurd, as well as intrinsically unjust, were it not for this general power of moral action.

It being understood, then, that the possibility of sin necessarily coëxists with a moral system, nay, inheres in it, the only question remaining for us to consider, is whether such a system is practically benevolent, or otherwise. And as moral beings, like ourselves, can with no propriety be placed under any other than a moral system, the question finally comes to this: whether our creation "in the image" of God was a curse or a blessing. If we adopt the theory of the annihilationist, and still more that of Dr. Bartlett, this is no question at all, so far as much the larger part of mankind is concerned; for who would not prefer never to have been, than to exist to be fearfully annihilated, or what is infinitely worse, to be held in existence for the mere purpose of endlessly suffering? But such crude, not to say barbarous, notions are as inconsistent with the true character and working of a moral system, as they are with the acknowledged wisdom and goodness

of the Creator. A moral nature, like ours, implies great dignity, and great opportunities and hopes, as well as great responsibilities and hazards. Though sin is in no sense necessary, we are all sinners, and sin brings along with it retribution. But then it is the peculiarity of a moral system, that it is a system of discipline and training, in which imperfect powers and perverse wills are educated, and by moral means ultimately fitted for the Master's use and glory. A moral system is, in the government of God, what the parental rule and the school are in the education of children: it is all this and vastly more, because it is in the hands of infinite wisdom which cannot fail in its measures, and is sustained by infinite resources to enable it to accomplish its ends. It is more than all earthly institutions combined, especially because it has all time, and, if need be, all eternity, to do its work. Of all the follies ever invented to plague mankind, there is none more mischievous than that which has now become stereotyped in our orthodox churches, that what God does not accomplish in his moral kingdom here in this world, and during this moment of time we call life, must be given over as hopeless forever; that a poor Pagan in the heart of Asia or the wilds of Africa, who lives and dies a Pagan, without faith in Christ, of whom he never heard, must take up his abode in the endless fires of hell; or that a half-educated Christian, or no Christian, or a child just come to years of accountability, in Christian lands, dying unrepentant and without a saving faith, is also fit for nothing but to be the sport of the devil and the victim of infinite tortures through all eternity! We hear much of the *worth of the human soul:* Dr. Bartlett speaks of it as being "allied to God, its Creator;" and Dr. Dwight, as we have seen above, affirms that "the destiny of one immortal mind is an object, whose importance no finite thought can conceive, no numbers estimate." And yet, according to our prevalent theologies, there is nothing in the universe so cheap. They are made to be thrown away, created to be lost, live but to be damned! Here we are moral beings, and free. Beyond death an iron necessity supersedes

before the architect's design is completed. But to argue that, because these things were allowable in the process of construction, they must, or even may, be permitted forever, is simple self-stultification, to which nothing but a bad cause and blind prejudice, or over-heated zeal, could betray a man of common sense.

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the moral; the good are fixed in goodness, and the bad in evil. Thus, Dr. Bartlett talks of "these two states" as just "commenced in this world," and "hastening on towards a maturity in the other world, glorious or terrific, in which all that is excellent in the one, or loathsome in the other, will have brought forth their harvests." Now, we cannot doubt that our moral natures are immortal, and the moral system in which they are placed is the only system that will ever be provided for them. We shall be as free, therefore, through eternity, as we are here; the good as free to *sin*, the wicked as free to *repent* and *reform*. If in heaven the saints do not sin, it will be from no want of freedom, but for the nobler reason that they have learned the great lesson of obedience and love; and in the deepest hell, if there were such a place, those farthest gone in sin, will hear the great commandment, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart," and be as free to obey, and under the same obligations to obey, as the brightest angel about the throne of God.

In his endeavors to prove the doctrine of endless punishment, Dr. Bartlett finds it necessary, with Archimedes proposing to lift the world, to secure a place to stand. And since there is, neither in reason nor in the nature of moral government, anything on which he can justly ground so awful a doctrine, he appeals exclusively to the Scriptures; nor will he trust himself even in the domain of revelation unless he can first hedge his position about in a manner never witnessed before. The whole question, he says, is one of fact; and the fact seems so peculiar that "the only valid testimony concerning it must be the declaration of Him who holds the destiny of the soul in his hands." Thus all considerations of the *character* of the punishment, its *purpose*, its effect on *the saints* in heaven and *sinners* in hell; the question whether it accords with what we know of the divine providence from our own experience, or from history, is all summarily dismissed. Nor will he even allow our knowledge of the divine perfections to come into the account. Whether this punishment is *just;* whether it reflects the *goodness* of God; whether it exhibits

his *mercy;* whether it commends his *holiness;* whether it displays his *love*; these are questions we are not permitted to ask. No man, he says, "from his general estimate of God's character, can affirm what definite thing God will do." To do this he thinks we must know "God's whole being, resources, views, intentions, his whole plan of government, with all its necessities, peculiarities," etc., and as he frequently suggests, we must almost assume "to be God." "We repeat it," he says, "God is the only competent witness on this subject. . . . Our appeal is to the Scriptures."

Now, we suppose we believe the Scriptures as sincerely, and respect their authority as profoundly, as Dr. Bartlett himself; and yet we confess we can see no reason for the discussion and settlement of the question of endless punishment on the ground of *interpretation* exclusively. We do not believe a doctrine of this character is to be decided on any narrow principle, or in any peculiar way. It has no claims to special privileges. There is no reason why it should be treated with any uncommon delicacy. If it is true at all, it is so broadly, awfully true, that it need not shrink from any examination, and can well afford to be considered in all its aspects, and in every possible light. Then, let it be remembered that if it is true, it does not stand alone, but holds relations with many other truths, and must be in harmony with all. Dr. Bartlett's intense anxiety to take this subject out of the realm of facts, and decide it simply on the word of Scripture, is suspicious. In almost any other writer it would betray a consciousness of the indefensible nature of his cause. Can even he persuade himself that such a momentous doctrine as this is to be settled by the definition of a word, or the turn of a sentence? In our little theological reading we have never observed any disinclination of the most orthodox to avail themselves of reasons in support of their doctrines, from whatever source they might be drawn. However clearly a doctrine may be revealed in the Scriptures, they have always shown themselves gratified to find it accordant with what we know of ourselves and the common course of the divine providence about us.

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But this is not all. However clearly Dr. Bartlett may think the doctrine of endless punishment taught in the Scriptures, he cannot fail to see that many other things are taught there quite as clearly, and things, too, with which this doctrine is not easily reconciled. There is nothing more distinctly revealed than that God is *just*, and "renders to every man according to his works." And this language not only suggests, but emphasizes, the idea of accurate *proportion* between offences and their punishment. Yet Dr. Bartlett knows very well, that not only *can he not see* any proportion between the sins of this life and endless punishment, but that there is no such proportion. If a man were to live a hundred or a thousand years, and commit some heinous sin every minute of his life; and every sin so committed were in justice to be punished by hell-fire a hundred million years, still these awful periods would slowly pass away and be gone before *eternity* would be more than begun! To talk, then, of endless punishment being *just*, is an insult to the common sense of mankind. But if it cannot be maintained on the score of justice, what shall we think of it when viewed in the light of the divine mercy, goodness, and love? Then, God is a *Father*, and all men are his children. That he loves them is proved by nature as well as by revelation, and how much he loves them the Gospel very clearly declares. We know many attempts have been made to show that endless punishment is not inconsistent with the perfections and even the paternity of God; and we know, too, what wretched failures they have been, as unworthy of the human heart that conceived, and the conscience that allowed them, as they are of the intellect that wasted its energies in so preposterous a cause.

We have before complained that Dr. Bartlett seems never to have *thought* of the doctrine he teaches. He apparently has no apprehension of its enormity. It would be well for him to study some of the old divines on this subject. It would help him to clearer views of its character, and enable him to see what he is doing. Drexelius, a learned and zealous advocate of the doctrine, gives us a little picture of it, which we would

respectfully commend to the consideration of the Christian world. "If," says he, "all the severest and most barbarous tortures which were ever invented by the tyrants of the earth, who, by anxious thoughts and hellish contrivances, improved and refined the art of cruelty, and brought it to perfection; if these, I say, were to be heaped upon the head of one man, and he was to endure them for a hundred years, yet they would not come near the pains of the damned even for one day." Will it be said that this is extravagant? We reply that extravagance is impossible here; the alleged fact is incomparably worse than any human language can express. Is it complained that Drexelius dishonors God by comparing his punishments with the tortures inflicted by tyrants? Unfortunately, the resemblance between them is only too obvious, while the Sovereign of the universe has not the poor apologies for the merciless tortures he inflicts, which the tyrants of the earth have so frequently urged. To our orthodox friends who thus censure the earnest Drexel, we would say, Imagine, if you can, that the devil were possessed of the infinite resources of knowledge and power now held by the Almighty, and were a thousand million times more malignant than the devil is, or any creature in the universe of God can be, and what worse, we ask, could he do to the wicked, than you yourselves profess to believe that God is about to do? We know this is an awful question: but is not that an awful faith which makes such a question possible?

But Dr. Bartlett appeals to the Scriptures. Well, let us see how he manages the Scriptures. "When," says he, "we would weigh the teachings of Christ and his Apostles on the subject of punishment, it is important to know what views prevailed among their immediate hearers. Those inspired teachers knew how their words could not fail to be understood, and spoke accordingly. And it may be well to consider not only what was the then existing view, but what had been the early education of that people."

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such a subject as this, we appeal to the Scriptures, why not appeal to the whole of them? And it seems to me to be the most natural, and an eminently proper way to begin our inquiries at the beginning. If the doctrine of endless punishment is true, it was true more than *four thousand years* before Christ was born; and is it to be believed that during all this immense period the Scriptures are silent upon it? If, as is always alleged, it is the penalty of sin, it must be as old as sin itself. If it is the sanction of the law given in Eden, as the orthodox world has always taught, then it must have been announced with that law, and before our first parents transgressed. Why not look for it, then, at the very commencement of human history; among the earliest of God's dealings with mankind; in the first revelation of moral duty? If it is in the Bible, where should we be so likely to find it as there, where we have an account of the first prohibition, the first sin, and the first punishment? And if it is there, no doubt it may be easily found. Wherever first announced, be assured it was in large hand. Such a doctrine could never be hid in a corner, or buried in a mass of ambiguities. It must be manifest as the sun in the heavens at noon-day, though as solemn as that sun under a total eclipse. It must blaze and glare with a fearful and commanding light.

Yet Dr. Bartlett says, Let us weigh the words of Christ! Would it not be better to study the writings of Moses? "The Law was given by Moses;" and penalties are commonly attached to laws. We know, too, how stern, and perhaps severe, the laws of the Hebrew Legislator were. If the penalty of endless torments is to be found in the Scriptures, we should certainly expect to find it among his institutes. Remember how the Law was given: on a mount covered with smoke, amidst storm and tempest, and thunderings and lightnings, and thick darkness. Certainly here was the place, and these the circumstances, most suitable for the proclamation of this threatened woe. And yet, if the truth must be spoken, the doctrine of endless punishment was not there announced, nor in all the law is there so much as a hint of its existence! And of this Dr. Bartlett seems to be aware.

Now, cannot men understand, men of learning and common sense, that if the doctrine of endless punishment cannot be proved from the Old Testament, it must be worse than folly, mere madness, to go, scales in hand, to the New Testament, in search of it? "The law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." The Apostle calls the Mosaic religion a ministration of condemnation and death, while the Gospel is far higher and more glorious, the ministration of the spirit and of righteousness. "Christ is the Mediator of a better covenant which was established upon better promises." How, then, could he be the author of a doctrine infinitely worse than any that Moses had to reveal? But to say, in one word, all that need be said on this subject, Christ is everywhere represented as the head of a *remedial* system. He came not to condemn, but to save; not to announce new and unheard-of penalties, infinitely more terrible than the Old Testament revealed, but to redeem mankind from the evils to which they were already subject. To reverse this, and make Christ the revealer of endless damnation, is to subvert the whole system of the Gospel. No; let our orthodox friends clearly understand that to abandon the Old Testament as the storehouse of proofs for endless punishment, is to betray their whole cause. If they cannot find it in the Pentateuch, it is vain to look for it in the Word of God. If it is true, it has been revealed, and revealed at the very commencement of God's dealings with our race. Nay, we hazard nothing in the assertion that if it was not threatened in the words of God in the garden, "*Thou shalt surely die*," it makes no part of revelation; and that it was not involved in that threatening, is proved by the patent fact that not a hint of it is given in the scene between the sinning man and his Maker, immediately after the first transgression, nor, indeed, in all God's intercourse with mankind for four thousand years!

It deserves notice that such a doctrine as we are here considering is not one that was first announced in its *germ*, and was subsequently developed, till at last it burst out in full bloom in the Gospel. The doctrine of immortality, and of

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the Messiah, with others, perhaps, might well be regarded as coming to us in this way, doctrines of grace, which the infinite Giver was at liberty to make known at such times, and in such degrees, as suited his wisdom and goodness; but *penalties* do not belong to this class, and that of endless torments above all others. If it has come at all, it must have come, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter, full grown, and armed from head to foot, at once. From its very nature, it admits of no development. It can be neither more nor less, worse nor better. If revealed at all, it must be revealed in its full proportions and all its intrinsic horror. This is demanded on moral grounds, as well as by the intellectual necessities of the case. If men are exposed to such a penalty; if, as the creeds teach, we are born under this fearful curse, and by every sin we commit are renewedly making ourselves liable to "the pains of hell forever," can we for a moment imagine that a God of justice, to say nothing of goodness, would leave us for an hour in ignorance of our peril? Under such awful circumstances no language could be too clear, no repetition too frequent. To reveal such a doctrine only in part, or obscurely, would be the cruelest mockery.

But Dr. Bartlett, without distinctly abandoning the Old Testament, almost entirely omits it as furnishing proof of his favorite doctrine, and turns to the New. He is anxious to learn what Christ and his Apostles taught upon the subject of punishment; and with this laudable desire he takes the somewhat circuitous and doubtful way of first inquiring what the Jews of that age happened to believe about it. If they entertained the opinion that the wicked are to suffer endless torments, then he concludes that Christ and his Apostles taught it. It is not necessary to raise the question whence the Jews derived their notions upon the subject, nor to inquire whether the Jews and our Saviour were generally agreed. If they believed in this punishment, Christ must have taught it; or, to state the case more clearly, if the Jews already possessed it, Christ certainly revealed it. This method of interpreting the New Testament is ingenious, if not convincing; though we

can hardly see the necessity of revealing what, it seems, everybody believed. What the Old Testament taught on this subject we are required to accept; but we are aware of no reason why we are to receive the opinions the Jews had picked up in their intercourse with the heathen about them, nor do we suppose that our Saviour came to give them the sanction of his authority. His teachings, as Dr. Bartlett says, "were professedly but the fuller development of the law and the prophets," and were, therefore, more likely to conform in their spirit and language to those venerated Scriptures, than to the philosophy of his countrymen.

To determine the opinions of the Jews at the time of Christ, our author refers to four sources of information. The Old Testament gives him a history of their national education, and he thinks it impossible that they could have remained in Egypt so long without becoming acquainted with the Egyptian doctrine of the immortality of the soul, a future judgment, and subsequent rewards and punishments. From Josephus he learns that the Pharisees believed in endless punishment. Philo clearly taught the same doctrine, and finally, the Book of Enoch affords the most conclusive proof that its author, whoever he was, whenever and wherever he lived, and in whatever language he wrote, was a zealous believer in it.

But this subject opens too wide a field of discussion for the present paper, and we must crave the privilege of resuming the subject in a future number of the *Quarterly*.

Article XIV.

Athanase Laurent Charles Coquerel.

Foreign journals bring us the news of the death of the eminent Christian minister whose name stands at the head of this brief notice. He was born in Paris, Aug. 27th, 1795, and after more than fifty years of labor in the ministry, he

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died in his native city, on the 10th of January last, of an attack of paralysis under which he lingered more than a week. As yet we have received no further particulars of the close of his long and brilliant career. Among the few notices of him that have appeared in the public prints, we find the same mistakes so constantly repeated, and in language so strangely similar, as to suggest that the notices were all prepared by the same hand, or that they have been pretty faithfully copied from some common original.

By his mother, whom he lost so early that he says he never knew her, M. Coquerel was closely related to the Earl of Erroll, a family eminently distinguished in the history of Scotland. After the death of his mother, the vacant place was supplied by her sister, Helen Maria Williams, well known in the literary circles of her day as one of the most distinguished female authors, to whom was accorded the title of "*the* English Historian of the French Revolution." Her name is endeared to the religious world as the author of that beautiful hymn:

"While Thee I seek, protecting Power."

She was in Paris during the reign of terror, where her well-known political opinions exposed her to imminent peril. Her works have been translated into all the modern languages of Europe, and her translation of "Paul and Virginia" has long been ranked among English Classics. As her *protégé*, the best society in London and Paris was accessible to young Coquerel; and her intimacy with the first men of the time, in literary and political circles, opened to him a brilliant career in any profession he might prefer. But he says: "I never thought of becoming anything else but a minister of the Gospel." At the age of seventeen he entered for a four years' course in theological studies at Montauban, a Protestant Academy in the south of France. Graduating after the usual course, he returned to Paris.

He was too young to expect a settlement in France, where the rules of the Reformed Church required a candidate for settlement to be twenty-five years of age; he accepted an in-

vitation to supply for a few Sabbaths the vacant pulpit of a French Reformed Church in Amsterdam. After his third service, the vacant pastorship was offered to him, and accepted. He went to Holland to spend six Sabbaths, and remained twelve years.

Immediately after his settlement, there seems to have been some agitation in regard to his theological opinions. We can well understand, that fifty years ago, the liberal opinions which characterized him through life, and which he never hesitated to proclaim and defend, were not so acceptable as they are to-day, even in the most liberal churches of Europe. Under these circumstances the young pastor felt called upon to avow and defend his position; which he did by the publication of a small volume containing only six discourses.

In 1830, the celebrated Cuvier, then a Counsellor of State, and of the University of France, was at the head of the administration of the Reformed Churches and Academies of the realm. Though unacquainted personally with Coquerel, Cuvier offered him the situation of a Professor at Montauban. He was detained on the way so that he failed to arrive in Paris in season to have his name upon the presentation list, and consequently did not secure the place. But Cuvier refused to let him return, and created for him a new pastorship in the Reformed Church of Paris, a place which Coquerel occupied with eminent ability and success to the day of his death. The principal theatre of his labors was the Church of the Oratoire, where from fifteen hundred to two thousand persons regularly listened to his eloquent and impressive discourses.

The liberal opinions of Coquerel met with a reception in France very similar to those of Ballou and Channing in this country. In 1833 he was elected a member of the French Consistory, when he had been but three years a settled minister in that country. The more orthodox portion of that body were alarmed at the election of a person whose opinions they deemed so pernicious, to a place of such honor and influence. It was to them a most unwelcome indication of the popular

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favor with which his doctrines were already received. From this point dates the controversy which divided the French Protestant Church into two parties; a controversy very similar in many respects to that which in the early part of the present century arose between the two parties in the Congregational Churches of New England, and resulted in the separation of the Unitarians and Trinitarians, each party claiming to be the Congregationalists. The Reformed Church of France was as thoroughly Calvinistic as the Congregationalists in America, or the Presbyterians in Scotland. They were recognized by the government, or granted the right of separate worship, as late as 1802, and, though they were Presbyterian by education and choice, they were not permitted to form themselves in Synods, and hence compelled to organize upon a Congregational foundation. It hardly comports with our ideas of propriety in such matters to imagine Coquerel standing before an audience of fifteen hundred or two thousand Presbyterians, assailing with resistless eloquence and consummate skill every distinctive doctrine of Calvinism, avowing and defending the principal doctrines that distinguish both the Unitarians and Universalists of America; and this, not occasionally, or upon any special emergency, but in the regular and ordinary discharge of his pastoral duties. But in what does it differ — setting aside the Universalism — from what was often witnessed in Congregational pulpits in New England, forty or fifty years since?

The following extract from a letter written by the younger Coquerel — Athanase, *Fils* — to a friend in this country in 1850, will throw some light upon the condition of things at that time:

"From 1685 to 1802, the Reformed Church of France was treated by the State as an enemy; in 1802, it was officially organized by a decree of the first Consul, which bore the revolutionary date of the 10th Germinal, year 10. It was not re-organized, however, without a remnant of hostility and defiance; for, though Presbyterian and Synodical, the right to unite the general Synods was denied to it; so that we have

in France communities that are Synodical by tradition and choice, but Congregational in fact, by force of circumstances.

"Though formerly rigidly Calvinistic, our church has abandoned, by slow degrees, its ancient orthodoxy; no one in France now believes the original system of Calvin. The confession of faith of our fathers has fallen completely into disuse; in the General Assembly of delegates, held in 1848 (profiting by a liberty which the revolution offered), it was clearly shown that not a single delegate of the French Protestant Churches believed fully in the received confession of faith. It is used neither in public worship, nor in the instruction of catechumens, nor in the consecration of ministers; in fact, it is entirely abrogated, so that a wide liberty of opinion obtains among us. We have men in the same church, preaching in the same pulpit, and before the same congregation, whose opinions are very different, and even hostile, upon important dogmatic points. Is this disorder? I do not think so; in my judgment, such freedom and variety are truly Christian. People, instead of always listening to a single system of theology, hear many sides, and the result is that the religious life is more active and intense, and more complete in its development."

In this division of the Protestant Church of France, radical as it has been in points of theology, there has been no separate organization. The parties still constitute the two wings of the French Protestant Church; the one progressive and liberal, with Coquerel as its leader; the other, with Guizot for its champion, orthodox and conservative, clinging with fond tenacity to as much of genuine Calvinism as the free Christian consciousness of the people will endure. And ministers holding these extremes of opinion, officiate in the same pulpit, preaching to the same congregation, and often upon the same day. This fact contributed largely, doubtless, to the prosperity and rapid increase of liberal Christianity in France. The eloquence and learning of Coquerel could ask no better field for their activity; his fervent piety and personal devotion to the interests of his charge, gathered around him a wide and influential circle of friends; his opinions were widely accepted, and defended by the first scholars and theologians of the realm, and he will ever be ranked among the first, if

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the fire and rapidity of the former, with the fullness and polish of the latter. In his other works, he is more terse, accurate and solid. He is full of resources, to illustrate or enforce any point which he desires to impress upon the mind of the hearer or reader.

There have been few persons of the present generation that have left so rich a legacy to the religious world, through their own personal efforts, as M. Coquerel. As yet, comparatively few American readers are acquainted with his writings, possibly, because they belong to a department in which we have not been accustomed to expect special excellence in French authors. Theological students turn to the profound and elaborate works of German scholars, the results of a life's toil. These cannot be superseded, only supplemented, by works like those of Coquerel. His works are intended for the people — for the great mass of intelligent readers and hearers. Profoundly democratic in all his views and sympathies, he did not forget that the precious truths and sublime principles of the Gospel belong to the humblest believer no less than to the scholar and the critic. Hence, while he addresses the people, so as to be readily understood by every intelligent person, the matter and form of his address will stand the test of the severest criticism. We would like to give a few extracts from his sermons, in illustration of his style and his doctrines, but the space we can occupy in this notice is too limited.

His character in private life was as admirable as his public ministrations. He was an affectionate father, a faithful pastor, an eloquent teacher, a benefactor to the poor and needy, and the friend of every honest man. It sounds a little strange to the hard-driven American pastor, who *must* write his two sermons a week, to be told that Coquerel, in a ministry of more than fifty years, "composed *nearly a thousand sermons*," an average of about twenty in a year. Doubtless the quantity of sermons a man is obliged to write, has something to do with their quality.

ARTICLE XV.

Recent German Literature.

SCOPE AND OBJECTIVE POINTS OF THE THEOLOGY OF TO-DAY.

Ueber Ziel und Richtpunkte der heutigen Theologie. Drei in Basel gehaltene Vorträge von Dr. K. R. Hagenbach, Prof. der Theologie. Zurich, 1867.

DR. HAGENBACH, the well-known author of the "History of Doctrines," sets forth in three able and spirited lectures the purpose and scope of theology in its several departments, as Exegetical, Historical, Dogmatical and Practical. He prepares the way in his first lecture by settling some important questions respecting theology and science, and correcting erroneous notions of progress. There is no possible separation of theology and science. The domain of theology is two-fold — that of religion, and that of science. According to the popular superficial view, the two departments are not only separate, but hostile to each other. "But could it be proved that the progress of science must necessarily lead to the overthrow of religion, or that religion, by pursuing its object with earnestness and decision, must come to a rupture with science, then the last hour of theology were struck." That such is not the case, nor is likely to be, is shown by the fact that while theology strikes its roots deep into religion, it does not at the same time renounce free investigation, as Science demands it of each of her disciples; and is not destined to hover homeless between the two domains of religion and science, but has a divine and inalienable homestead right in both. A radical misconception lies at the root of the conflicting demands by the people, on the one hand for a *believing* theologian who shall renounce scientific theological investigation, and on the other for a *liberal* theologian who shall not be too strict about faith. For there is no theologian without scientific theological culture, nor with this, without religious faith. Hence neither demand can possibly be answered. The misconception is in confounding religion and theology.

the fire and rapidity of the former, with the fullness and polish of the latter. In his other works, he is more terse, accurate and solid. He is full of resources, to illustrate or enforce any point which he desires to impress upon the mind of the hearer or reader.

There have been few persons of the present generation that have left so rich a legacy to the religious world, through their own personal efforts, as M. Coquerel. As yet, comparatively few American readers are acquainted with his writings, possibly, because they belong to a department in which we have not been accustomed to expect special excellence in French authors. Theological students turn to the profound and elaborate works of German scholars, the results of a life's toil. These cannot be superseded, only supplemented, by works like those of Coquerel. His works are intended for the people — for the great mass of intelligent readers and hearers. Profoundly democratic in all his views and sympathies, he did not forget that the precious truths and sublime principles of the Gospel belong to the humblest believer no less than to the scholar and the critic. Hence, while he addresses the people, so as to be readily understood by every intelligent person, the matter and form of his address will stand the test of the severest criticism. We would like to give a few extracts from his sermons, in illustration of his style and his doctrines, but the space we can occupy in this notice is too limited.

His character in private life was as admirable as his public ministrations. He was an affectionate father, a faithful pastor, an eloquent teacher, a benefactor to the poor and needy, and the friend of every honest man. It sounds a little strange to the hard-driven American pastor, who *must* write his two sermons a week, to be told that Coquerel, in a ministry of more than fifty years, "composed *nearly a thousand sermons*," an average of about twenty in a year. Doubtless the quantity of sermons a man is obliged to write, has something to do with their quality.

ARTICLE XV.

Recent German Literature.

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They are not the same, yet they are not antagonistic. In the harmony of both, in the union of faith and science, of piety and knowledge, the requisites of a true theologian meet and complete each other. By no longer confounding religion and theology, the laity, commendably zealous of the faith, would be cured of their morbid sensitiveness about scientific theological inquiries, and we should have less of that *dilettantism* whereby the uneducated layman who mistakes his piety for theological attainment and capability, "raises the cry of 'Unbelief' at every tendency that departs from the current presumptions and ideas." But this dilettantism is even less deplorable than that manifested on the "radical" side. This party, laboring under the same confusion of ideas, fears, not that science shall prejudice faith, but that faith shall work injury to science, and stand in the way of its progress. It will have a new religion. Its watchword is "Progress." This every consistent man must declare for. But for a true, and not a false, progress. Much that is called progress is really the discovery of new principles, a leaving of an old path for a new one, a change in methods, effected by a "higher instinct, an impulse, by a new revelation of the spirit, by a sort of inspiration." Here we recognize the work of "Genius, which leaves all progress behind." "There is a progress in the arts which can be easily demonstrated, but art in its higher ideal signification does not live by progress." "Just as we do not greet the Spring with its miracles as a progress of Winter, but as a new creation which opens before our eyes and brings us the Summer, so the idea of progress does not satisfy us when we wish to designate the advent of a spiritual Spring into the history of mankind." In such a presence man must stand with reverence and awe, and acknowledge a beauty and perfection beyond which he may not hope to make "progress." In regard to that which we call "classical" — Grecian art, the works of Beethoven and Mozart in music, Shakespeare, Sophocles, Raphael, and Michael Angelo, what can we do, but *return* to them as models, while we own that there is an "eternal beauty" in the presence of

which we lose all thoughts of progress, "because we have to do with that which is eternally new and eternally young"? These principles find remarkable confirmation in the domain of religion:

"If religion is not the invention of any man, but rests on the immediate communication of divine energies in the domain of human receptivity, and if we call this communication of knowledge a revelation, with more justice, and in a higher sense, than those revelations in the domain of art, then must we grant that religion must there appear perfected, and forever perfected, where the consciousness of God resides in a human individual in such a manner that we can say, in him is God become one with man. It is impossible to conceive of a purer and more perfect *religiousness* than that of Christ; and this religiousness of Christ, whatever human designation we may give to his human relation to the Father, has become the foundation of the Christian religion, which consists not in dead rules, not in mere doctrines and maxims, but in an appropriation of the healing virtues which went forth, and are ever going forth from his person. It is hence morally impossible to conceive of a form of piety which, away from connection with this one person, in whom absolute religion has been given for all times, could acquire recognition; so that the thought of a religious *progress* beyond Christ must appear not only as impious, but as foolish and wild."

But there is a progress *within* Christianity; and no one requires this more than Christ and his Apostles — the former presenting not only himself as a pattern, but exhorting us to strive to imitate the perfections of God, and Paul speaking of a temple of God, a building in which we are the living stones. This is a progress such as the pupil in the domain of art makes in reference to the inimitable model of the Master — "an evermore quickening appropriation of the offered salvation, an ever richer development of the germ implanted in mankind by Christ, an ever deeper understanding of the unfathomable thought of God in the plan of salvation." And there may be a progress in theology independently of religion on purely scientific grounds. Theology is not so immediately a subject of revelation as religion. "Christianity maintained

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itself a long time without theology; it had its martyrs before it had a theology. The church is older than the school, and its faith is older than the wisdom of this school." But a true progress in science and theology can never be prejudicial to religion. The foundations of religion are not undermined, because, by reason of geological discoveries, our views of the world must be different from those that prevailed in the time of Moses, or at the establishment of Christianity. And it were as foolish for the theologian, in spite of all these results of science, to hold obstinately to the old theories of the world, as with these theories to abandon the old faith in God.

In the department of Exegetical Theology, the true scientific process has been of incalculable service in defending the Christian faith. Only on scientific grounds can the groundless, unscientific assertions be contested, which are put forward in opposition to Christianity. Thus to meet them "is better than all grieving and lamentation, all clamor and reviling of a blind zeal." But what is the position which scientific theology should take in relation to the Bible? Shall it take its position above the Scriptures, or beneath them? Neither, answers our author; but with all the energy of earnestness and love, it should take firm foothold *in* the Scriptures, and in them live; but,

"The theologian must distinguish between Scripture *and* Scripture, that is, between the divine contents of Scripture, the Word of God, and the Scripture as a collection of writings gathered by men, which were written by men, and under human relations and conditions. Here as a scientific theologian he must place himself *above* the Scriptures; he must, in other words, rule over the historical material so far as it is the work of man. But this does not hinder him from bowing with all humility under the power of the Word of God, which advances to meet him from all the testimonies of the Scripture, and which is to him an *authority* in matters of faith."

Dr. Hagenbach rejects as irreconcilable with this attitude of theology toward the Bible, the theory of verbal inspiration.

The relation of theology to Dogma is duly appreciated and ably set forth. The sum of all theological knowledge is con-

centrated in dogmatics. "Without this systematic combination of detached doctrines under a dogmatic principle, all our theological thinking would be dissipated into isolated, disconnected and contradictory views." The cry that comes up from various quarters — "No more dogmatics," is "as if the physician should say, no more Physiology; the philologist, no more Grammar; the mathematician, no more Geometry; the musician, no more Thorough Bass." Religion may exist without dogma, but theology never. At the bottom of all dogmatic questions of the times lies this one: What think ye of Christ? The doctrine of the church has always sought to find united in Christ the divine and human, and has ever endeavored to avoid the two rocks, either to see in him only a God, or only a man; "in other words, the 'true divinity of Christ,' and the 'true humanity of the Saviour,' are the two inseparable factors of the so-called Christology." But the determination of the relations of the divine and human in the nature of Christ has always been unsatisfactory, and in spite of all efforts in this direction, the one has been elevated into undue prominence at the expense of the other. For a long time the divinity of Christ was emphasized, so that his humanity was lost sight of, and he "remained more a phantasm, than a real historical personality." The world lost sight of the real Christ,

> "Who was bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, and even spiritually bound to the laws of human development, a development which presupposes a gradual growth and improvement, not only in age, but in wisdom and favor with God and men; — which presupposes a conflict with evil, a temptation, and a victory over the same, a victory which is not to be understood as that of a God, but as the human victory of a moral being who is adapted to be our pattern in all things."

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But our limits admonish us that with this noble expression of the author's conscious or unconscious Universalism, we must close our incomplete notice of a work which is to be commended as much for its liberal and constructive tendency as for its brilliancy and power.

GENERAL REVIEW.

Abyssinia and its Church.

As the British Expedition to Abyssinia is just now giving to this country, and to its King, Theodore, considerable importance in the eyes of the civilized world, we have thought the following particulars regarding the religion and superstitions of the country, and its ecclesiastical relations to Christianity, might be acceptable to our readers.

Abyssinia, which lies south of Egypt and Nubia, and is touched by the Red Sea on part of its eastern border, is according to geographers some eight hundred miles in length, and from five hundred to five hundred and fifty miles in breadth, and contains perhaps four millions of inhabitants, largely of Arabian extraction, mixed with Jews, Turks and Negroes. The Abyssinians claim that their country was the Sheba of the Scriptures; whose queen visited Solomon. At all events it is the Ethiopia of the Scriptures, of which Candace was queen, whose treasurer, probably a Jew, is mentioned in Acts viii., as taught and baptized by Philip. It is associated by this name with Egypt frequently in the Old Testament, as in Isaiah xx., xliii., xlv.; Ezek. xxx.; Dan. xi.

Christianity was introduced into the country early in the fourth century, and gradually the mass of the people composing the nation was converted, and they have continued to profess a corrupt form of Christianity ever since, so that the Abyssinian Church has been in existence some fifteen hundred years. It is in sympathy with the Greek Church, rather than the Roman. In 1520 an attempt was made to reduce the Abyssinian Christians to obedience to the Papal authority, and a Portuguese fleet and army, with a corps of priests, were sent in aid of the work. Some progress was made by the Jesuits, and, assisted by the Papal and Portuguese governments, they succeeded, early in the seventeenth century, in accommodating their whole religious system to the Catholic standard. But their triumph was short, for very soon a new ruler, yielding to the demand of the people, banished the patriarch and the monks, and ordered all the Jesuits who remained in the country to be hanged. And since, all efforts of the Roman Church to establish itself in the country have failed. Recently, however, negotiations have, we believe, been re-

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newed by the Papal authorities, but nothing has resulted from them, as far as we know.

The Abyssinian Church is Monophysite in faith, maintaining that there is but one nature in Christ; i. e., that the divine and human were so perfectly united as to become substantively but one nature, without confusion or any apparent compounding of the two. With this exception, it agrees in the main points of its belief and worship with the Greek Church, differing in details, as modified by their superstitions. At the same time, many of their religious customs are purely Jewish, and it is asserted among them that they were Jews before they were Christians. It is certain that they observe the seventh day as their sabbath, and practice circumcision. They also set apart one portion of the church with the name of "The Holy of Holies," and make their altars in the form of the Ark of the Covenant. They obey the Mosaic Law in regard to clean and unclean meats, and regard a dead body as unclean.

In their Church service they use the Bible with the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, thus following the Roman Church. Priests are not permitted to marry if single at the time of ordination, but men already married may become priests. They have no special dress, and no peculiar privileges. Children are baptized by immersion, but adults by affusion. Communion is administered in both kinds; and confession is rigidly enforced both among laity and clergy.

The head of the Church is called *Aboonah* (our father),[1] under whom are the chief priests or bishops; and, next in order, the Alaka, having charge of the revenues; and after these, priests and deacons. It requires twenty priests and deacons to perform all the duties of a church. A priest can grant a divorce; or a husband can at any time dissolve the marriage tie by becoming a monk, and leave the wife to provide for his children. If a man has had four wives, and outlived them all, he must go into a convent; or, refusing, he is excommunicated — which seems to us very reasonable and fitting.

Other things might be mentioned as written of this singular people, which we cannot quite credit, however. For example, it is said that none are admitted to the Lord's Supper under the age of twenty-four,

[1] The present Aboonah, or Metropolitan of Abyssinia, was educated in the Church of England Missionary School at Cairo; and having been recommended as the most capable of all the scholars, was consecrated to his office, in 1842—3, by the Patriarch of the Coptic Church at Cairo, commonly called St. Mark's, and supposed to have been founded by St. Mark.

on the ground that no one is accountable for sin before arriving at that age; that all dying prior to that age are sure of salvation; that persons of rank receive larger pieces of bread at the Communion than the common people, &c.

What is to be the result of the British Expedition into this country, and what changes it will work, if any, in the political and ecclesiastical status of the people, remains to be seen. The present monarch, King Theodore, has succeeded in reducing the entire territory to his rule, and the most powerful chiefs acknowledge his supremacy. From his youth he believed himself raised up for the work of national unity and reformation. And he has accomplished great and needed changes in morals and manners, in business and commerce, and in the general administration of public affairs. And he refers all this success to divine assistance. "Without Christ," he says, "I am nothing; but if he has destined me to purify and reform this distracted kingdom, who shall stay me?" He claims to be a lineal descendant of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and opens his famous letter to Victoria in the following style: "In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. From God's slave, and His created being, the Son of David, the Son of Solomon, the King of kings, Theodore," &c.

He is represented as young, and vigorous in body, peculiarly polite and engaging in his manners, generous to a fault, of wonderful tact and energy, clear in his views, prompt to execute, never hesitating when once he has come to a decision, unsparing in his punishments, and dangerous when his passions are thoroughly roused. He has shown eminent ability in the conduct of his military affairs, when engaged with native enemies; but how he will conduct himself in the presence of the disciplined armies of a European power, is a problem to be solved.

Universalism in England.

A PAMPHLET has been published in London with this title — "*Infinite Love: A Meditation.* By *Εὔβουλος Βασανιστής*," which, interpreted, is *Careful Inquirer.* The writer demonstrates the irreconcilable antagonism of Infinite Love and Endless Punishment. The following extracts will show the animus of the work, and the style of the author, who evidently feels strongly on the subject:

newed by the Papal authorities, but nothing has resulted from them, as far as we know.

The Abyssinian Church is Monophysite in faith, maintaining that there is but one nature in Christ; i. e., that the divine and human were so perfectly united as to become substantively but one nature, without confusion or any apparent compounding of the two. With this exception, it agrees in the main points of its belief and worship with the Greek Church, differing in details, as modified by their superstitions. At the same time, many of their religious customs are purely Jewish, and it is asserted among them that they were Jews before they were Christians. It is certain that they observe the seventh day as their sabbath, and practice circumcision. They also set apart one portion of the church with the name of "The Holy of Holies," and make their altars in the form of the Ark of the Covenant. They obey the Mosaic Law in regard to clean and unclean meats, and regard a dead body as unclean.

In their Church service they use the Bible with the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament, thus following the Roman Church. Priests are not permitted to marry if single at the time of ordination, but men already married may become priests. They have no special dress, and no peculiar privileges. Children are baptized by immersion, but adults by affusion. Communion is administered in both kinds; and confession is rigidly enforced both among laity and clergy.

The head of the Church is called *Aboonah* (our father),[1] under whom are the chief priests or bishops; and, next in order, the Alaka, having charge of the revenues; and after these, priests and deacons. It requires twenty priests and deacons to perform all the duties of a church. A priest can grant a divorce; or a husband can at any time dissolve the marriage tie by becoming a monk, and leave the wife to provide for his children. If a man has had four wives, and outlived them all, he must go into a convent; or, refusing, he is excommunicated — which seems to us very reasonable and fitting.

Other things might be mentioned as written of this singular people, which we cannot quite credit, however. For example, it is said that none are admitted to the Lord's Supper under the age of twenty-four,

[1] The present Aboonah, or Metropolitan of Abyssinia, was educated in the Church of England Missionary School at Cairo; and having been recommended as the most capable of all the scholars, was consecrated to his office, in 1842—3, by the Patriarch of the Coptic Church at Cairo, commonly called St. Mark's, and supposed to have been founded by St. Mark.

on the ground that no one is accountable for sin before arriving at that age; that all dying prior to that age are sure of salvation; that persons of rank receive larger pieces of bread at the Communion than the common people, &c.

What is to be the result of the British Expedition into this country, and what changes it will work, if any, in the political and ecclesiastical status of the people, remains to be seen. The present monarch, King Theodore, has succeeded in reducing the entire territory to his rule, and the most powerful chiefs acknowledge his supremacy. From his youth he believed himself raised up for the work of national unity and reformation. And he has accomplished great and needed changes in morals and manners, in business and commerce, and in the general administration of public affairs. And he refers all this success to divine assistance. "Without Christ," he says, "I am nothing; but if he has destined me to purify and reform this distracted kingdom, who shall stay me?" He claims to be a lineal descendant of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and opens his famous letter to Victoria in the following style: "In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost. From God's slave, and His created being, the Son of David, the Son of Solomon, the King of kings, Theodore," &c.

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"I reject the doctrine that before the world was created the Infinitely just and Infinitely merciful God selected from His future creatures a given number — whether the number be conjectured to be great or small matters not — who should be privileged to enjoy everlasting life, to the eternal exclusion of millions and millions of others equally His creatures. I reject the doctrine that there is a perpetual contention and warfare carried on between the Almighty and the devil for the souls of men, in which the devil, in the great majority of cases, comes off victorious. And, finally, I repudiate every doctrine and every hypothesis which is not in thorough harmony with the Infinite Love of God."

The idea that the doctrine of endless punishment has a restraining moral influence on the believer, and is necessary to the maintenance of order and virtue, he repudiates in strong terms:

"Does it act as a preventive of crime, or an incentive to virtue? Are men ever made good Christians or good neighbors — or, in other words, is their love to God and man increased — by a belief that ninety-nine out of every hundred of their fellow-men are to be consigned to everlasting torments? Are men who fear not the hangman's rope deterred from sin by the dread of damnation? If these questions can be answered affirmatively, let proofs be forthcoming."

After replying to various objections — such as God's Justice is Infinite as well as his Love; God's Love and Man's love are essentially different, &c. — all of which are admirably refuted; he concludes with the declaration that "nothing short of the final restoration and perfect happiness of the whole human race through Christ, without distinction of creed, sect, or party, will satisfy the requirements of Infinite Love."

In noticing a pamphlet which has had a circulation of twenty thousand copies in England, and which bears this title — "*What is Unitarianism?*" — an English Unitarian journal has the following remarks, which we commend to the consideration of such of our own communion as think the time for doctrinal preaching has gone by:

"There are some amongst us who make it their practice to inveigh continually against what they call 'doctrinal preaching,' and who tell us the time has come to 'let orthodoxy alone.' We are far from being able to agree with them. To us it appears that there is stil great necessity for showing how sadly 'the glorious Gospel of Christ is misrepresented in the forms in which it is commonly exhibited, an for exerting ourselves to make it known in something like its origina

simplicity and victorious reasonableness and beauty. And we are persuaded that if those to whom we have referred were obliged, as we are, to look week by week into the class of religious publications which largely circulate among the people, and see the kind of views which are there set before them, their present feeling would be greatly modified. And still more, we are convinced, would the friends whom we have in mind be led to change their tone, if they mingled more freely with the less educated members of the religious community, and became fully alive to the monstrous perversions of Christianity which they are brought, by threats of eternal damnation, to receive, and which burden their lives with a constant load of fear. They could then scarcely help acknowledging that a solemn responsibility is upon us to see that the great trust which has been confided to us, takes no injury through our lukewarmness and indifference, and feeling that we ought to be ready to 'contend earnestly for' what we believe to have been 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' We have not yet made, by any means, all the use which we might have done of the press in commending our views to general attention; and even among educated persons we are constantly meeting with startling proofs how completely they are still misunderstood."

So far as freedom of speech regarding theological subjects is concerned, the American press, as we have shown in former issues, does not compare with that of England. The literary journal and the newspaper, as well as the more stately Quarterlies and Reviews, discuss the dogmas of the churches, and their ecclesiastical assumptions, with a boldness, and often with a severity of criticism and censure, to which the secular press of our own country is an entire stranger. Its conductors mostly seem to stand in too much awe of "evangelical" authority, to enliven their journals with these discussions, and thus provoke the attention and inquiry of their readers. The London *Pall Mall* lately, speaking of the idolatrous extravagances in regard to the Virgin Mary, as practiced in the south of France, says, with equal justice and discrimination,

"The character of that theology which represents Christ as a being of fierce wrath, softened by the intercession of Mary, is really identical with the popular theology of a grievously large majority of English Protestants, and it is only by recognizing that identity that its effects abroad can be fairly estimated. Popular Roman Mariolatry in this case simply carries out in the case of Jesus Christ precisely that theory of the divine nature which some hold to be 'orthodox' amongst ourselves. Horrible and shocking as it is to the English traveller to see the founder of Christianity exhibited as striking down miserable men and women in his anger, there is not a shade of differ-

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The Bishop of "Argyle and the Isles," Dr. Ewing, preached a sermon during the Anglican Conference on "Union," which has been published. He takes high ground in regard to the government of God, that it is paternal, kind and equitable, and even when severe, designed for the good of those who suffer. The privilege of the Christian is, not that he alone is to be the recipient of its benefits, but that he best understands this truth, and enjoys the comfort of it.

The Bishop asserts that this paternal and beneficent government of God not only extends to all regions and races in this world, but reaches into the future world, and is carried on there upon the same principles, and with the same merciful aims. We give place, with pleasure, to the following extract, full of emphasis:

"Truly all our hope is in God, and in what He is — our hope both for ourselves, and for those gone from us, who are no longer in our keeping, but who are now with Him; who are nowhere if not with Him, and whom, if with Him, we trust and believe to be well, because with Him. He is our Father and their Father, and this because He is all men's Father: and He is *Father* — Father there as well as here — Father everlasting, everywhere, and always and to all; *ever acting as such everywhere, and to all, in accordance with His word.*"

"A Junior Pastor," through the medium of the *English Independent*, Orthodox, invokes the aid of his more experienced brethren in deciding whether "a brother who holds the doctrine of universal restoration may be welcomed into fellowship by an Independent Church without unfaithfulness to its Divine Master?" He himself

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Explorations at Jerusalem.

It is our purpose to keep the readers of the *Quarterly* informed of the progress of the great work which is uncovering, to some extent, the most interesting features of ancient Jerusalem. In order to appreciate the importance of the excavations going on under the direction of Lieut. Warren, it must be remembered that the Jerusalem of to-day is not the Jerusalem of David and Solomon, of Jesus, and Herod, and Pilate. More than any other city still bearing its ancient name, it has been buried under heaps of rubbish and debris; as completely, in some parts, as old Nineveh is buried in the vast mounds of Assyria. The Tyropæon valley, for example, which passes to the north and east of Mount Zion, was once a ravine, sixty feet deep or more; but it is now only a slight depression, so completely has it been filled up with the accumulated wrecks of nearly twenty centuries.

Towers, fortifications, walls, houses, of every kind of material, have been torn down and destroyed with every new assault and capture, and the old ruin has been taken as the foundation of the new edifice, till, to find the city of Herod, and much more that of Solomon, it is necessary to sink far below the surface of the present city, in some places to the depth of one hundred feet. And the discoveries already made — the massive character of the substructions of the temple, the great height of the walls, the immense stones on which the foundations of the Holy House were laid, exciting the astonishment and admiration of all beholders, the aqueducts, cisterns, and rock-hewn galleries and water-courses of the ancient city — these are enough, even if the work should cease to-day, to reveal the marvellous character of the walls, fortresses and vast structures which were laid in ruins by the Romans, according to the predictions of Christ as recorded in Matt. xxiv.

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"Researches at great depth in the upper part of the Tyropæon seem to point to the actual existence of the brook which, in the days of the monarchy, 'overflowed through the midst of the land,' and which Hezekiah stopped or concealed when the city was besieged by Sennacherib (2 Chronicles xxxii. 2–4).[1] This stream would appear to be still forcing its ancient way along its old channel, at the prodigious depth of more than sixty feet beneath the present surface. A mile west of the city, between it and the ancient village of Nephtoah, Mr. Warren has explored, at some personal risk, a remarkable cleft which descends into the earth to a depth of more than one hundred and fifty feet, and which may not improbably be one of the sources of the water supply of Jerusalem. On the other hand, in the valley of the Kedron, a mile and a half south of the city, and five hundred yards below the 'Well of Joab,' a well has been excavated, apparently for the first time, which proves to contain passages, staircases, and other contrivances, which, it can hardly be too much to assume, will be found to be connected with the waters of the city itself. Fragmentary as are all these discoveries, they indicate an amount of ancient remains below the surface which cannot but excite the hopes and stimulate the curiosity of all concerned, and incite us to strain every nerve to lay bare such interesting relics.

As I read Mr. Warren's accounts I seem to feel the ancient city within my grasp — to know for a certainty that its very houses, and streets, and water-courses, all the ancient life of its structures, its hills, and its ravines, are lying buried like some enchanted person beneath that singular and solemn tomb. The cliff (as the Dean of Westminster said in his sermon the other day) which Joab climbed, the streets which David trod, and along which Athaliah was hurried, the catacomb of the Kings of Judah, the very *Via Dolorosa* itself,

[1] "And when Hezekiah saw that Sennacherib was come, and that he was purposed to fight against Jerusalem, he took counsel with his princes to stop the waters of the fountains [springs] which were without the city. So there was gathered much people together, who stopped [covered] all the fountains, *and the brook that ran through the midst of the land*, saying, Why should the kings of Assyria come, and find much water?"

along which the Saviour went to the crucifixion, of which not even the shadow of a likeness can be found in the upper air of the modern city — all these are doubtless there. Wherever Mr. Warren probes, let him but go deep enough, and he comes on some solid substance of curious and ancient kind. A 'stone suddenly rolls away,' and reveals staircases, passages, subterranean halls in the heart of the rock, leading to who knows what repositories of treasure. An almost invisible crevice in the hill turns out to be a cave one hundred and fifty feet deep, concealing the 'skeleton of an infant;' and containing, perhaps, the hidden fountain of the water-supply of Jerusalem."

The following, from the *Builder*, is very suggestive, and holds out a promise which we hardly dare to hope may be realized. At any rate, it is a point to which, as yet, the labors of the exploring party have not been directed; and when they shall come to this portion of their researches — for so important an inquiry must surely have entered into the original programme — we may look for some certain information regarding the royal sepulchres, and such treasures and secrets as they may hold:

"The chief records which we are now slowly learning to decipher in Egypt are sepulchral. Temples and palaces exist in that unchanging climate, as they have done in the Mesopotamian cities, rich in sculptured records of their builders, engraved in pictorial representations and in long inscriptions on marble slabs that lined the stately apartments. But our chief knowledge of Egyptian history and manners has been derived from the tomb, from the sepulchral rites, from the Book of the Dead, and from the papyri enclosed in the mummy cases. In Palestine, this source of information, if it exist, is as yet untouched. We are, indeed, aware of numerous tombs. We know of the existence of a remarkable series of sepulchres, called the tombs of the kings, which can in no way be plausibly connected either with the Asmonean dynasty of Princes of Jerusalem, or with that of the House of David, and which, therefore, if the title be appropriate, must have belonged to the ancestors of the Jebusite Araunah, who 'did as a king give unto the king' whose sword had won the city of Zion, the site of the opposite hill Moriah, or to the kindred of that earlier 'King of Peace' whom Jewish tradition identifies with the patriarch Shem.

We have no record of any violation or spoliation of royal sepulchres either by Nebuchadnezzar or by Titus. In the latter case, from the full account which we possess of the siege, we are justified in assuming that no such event occurred. In the former instance, it is no less unlikely, as the entrance of Herod into the outer part of the sepulchre of David and Solomon is mentioned by Josephus. There is, then, a fair probability of the existence, not under the Haram, but

the Temple, and it has been necessary to carry them on with great caution and prudence, since this quarter is equally sacred to the Mohammedans. But Lieut. Warren seems admirably fitted for the task, and has gained the confidence of all alike, Moslem, Jew and Gentile; of those in authority, and of the common workmen. And in every instance in which he has sunk his shaft or mine, he has found something to reward his labor, and to encourage further exploration. The following particulars from the *London Times*, furnished by the Secretary of the Exploration Fund from the correspondence of Lieut. Warren, will interest and inform the reader:

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"The chief records which we are now slowly learning to decipher in Egypt are sepulchral. Temples and palaces exist in that unchanging climate, as they have done in the Mesopotamian cities, rich in sculptured records of their builders, engraved in pictorial representations and in long inscriptions on marble slabs that lined the stately apartments. But our chief knowledge of Egyptian history and manners has been derived from the tomb, from the sepulchral rites, from the Book of the Dead, and from the papyri enclosed in the mummy cases. In Palestine, this source of information, if it exist, is as yet untouched. We are, indeed, aware of numerous tombs. We know of the existence of a remarkable series of sepulchres, called the tombs of the kings, which can in no way be plausibly connected either with the Asmonean dynasty of Princes of Jerusalem, or with that of the House of David, and which, therefore, if the title be appropriate, must have belonged to the ancestors of the Jebusite Araunah, who 'did as a king give unto the king' whose sword had won the city of Zion, the site of the opposite hill Moriah, or to the kindred of that earlier 'King of Peace' whom Jewish tradition identifies with the patriarch Shem.

We have no record of any violation or spoliation of royal sepulchres either by Nebuchadnezzar or by Titus. In the latter case, from the full account which we possess of the siege, we are justified in assuming that no such event occurred. In the former instance, it is no less unlikely, as the entrance of Herod into the outer part of the sepulchre of David and Solomon is mentioned by Josephus. There is, then, a fair probability of the existence, not under the Haram, but

in Zion, of the undisturbed sepulchral vaults of David, and of many of his successors, in which copies of the Sacred Books and other contemporary records of the utmost interest may yet await the search of those who may be undeterred by the awe that fell on Herod himself, or by the mysterious buffet that is said even now to greet any who venture to enter the last dwelling-place of David's progenitor, the patriarch Isaac."

The Christians of Madagascar.

It is curious that Madagascar, an Island in the Indian Ocean larger than Great Britain, and abounding in all the wealth of tropical productions, should have remained so long comparatively unknown to the civilized world; and that we should owe all we do know of it to the zeal of the Missionary, rather than to the enterprise and greed of the Merchant. We do not propose to give an extended sketch of this interesting land; those desiring to enter into the details of its history, and of the introduction of Christianity, will find in Ellis's volumes the desired information.[1]

Radama, the king at the time the first missionaries landed, was born in 1792, and began his reign in 1808. He was a sovereign of great ability, sagacious, prompt in action, and fully alive to the benefits which Civilization would confer on his native island. By treaty with England he abolished the slave trade, and thus secured her aid, by way of munitions of war and drill officers, in reducing the refractory tribes to submission, and making one kingdom of the entire country; thus bringing order out of chaos, and practically applying our national motto, *E Pluribus Unum*. He favored the efforts of the Missionaries, and very encouraging success attended their labors among all classes, from the peasantry to the highest nobles. They sought to civilize and Christianize. The Malagasy dialect was reduced to a written language, and elementary books printed, and distributed far and wide; and old men began the study of them, sitting without shame among little children. And the great officers of State, and the Nobles, welcomed the opportunity of learning, regretting

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that the blessing had not come to them in youth. The places of Christian worship were crowded with eager and attentive listeners' and many of the converts became able and successful preachers to their heathen countrymen — and thus the truth penetrated, in a surprisingly short period, two hundred and three hundred miles into the interior, and whole villages became Christian, furnishing afterward some of the bravest and noblest of the martyrs.

Unfortunately, at this period of great promise, Radama died (1828), and was succeeded by his Queen Ranavalo, who was in full fellowship with the pagan priests, and withal one of the most obstinate, relentless and merciless wretches who ever stained the name of woman. She began a series of cruel persecutions, in one of which two thousand Christian converts were destroyed, many of them suffering death in its most frightful forms, rather than deny their faith The atrocities of the early persecutions under the Roman emperors were often repeated; and the sublime courage and devotion of these martyrs of Madagascar, in 1849, were fully equal to anything recorded of the Christians of the first centuries. Every kind of punishment was resorted to in order to crush out the Christian faith and worship — fines, confiscations, slavery; and death by crucifixion, by stoning, at the stake, by casting from precipices, and by transfixing the victims with spears, and leaving them to writhe and struggle till they died of exhaustion. Many of the nobles of the realm were sold into slavery, with their wives and children, on the express condition that the purchaser should keep them in bondage, and at hard labor, as long as they lived.

Soldiers and hired agents traversed the country in all directions, hunting up converts; and slaves and spies were encouraged and rewarded for every Christian discovered and convicted. Multitudes fled from their homes, and took refuge in the depths of the vast forests, among wild beasts; concealed themselves on the mountains, in caves, in every place that promised security from these human hunters. And many of these, long counted as dead, reappeared years afterward, when the death of the Queen, and the accession of her son, gave promise of better times. As a commentary on the saying that "the blood of martyrs is the seed of the church," we note the following fact: At the beginning of these persecutions a small village, called *Hafy*, had thirty-eight converts in it; of these, four were hunted down to death, three died in chains, six were subjected to the poison test, of whom two died; and the rest continued steadfast to

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the end. This village has now a church, and above three hundred native Christians, with an English clergymen for their pastor!

But our limits forbid details, and we close this sketch with one or two examples illustrating our statement that the annals of Christian persecution furnish no examples surpassing the simple piety, the unconquerable faith, and sublime courage of these martyrs of Madagascar. On the western side of the metropolis there rises out of a ravine of jagged crags and splintered fragments of granite, a precipice some two hundred feet in height, overlooking the city and surrounding country, and from which, it is said, may be seen one of the most beautiful landscapes in the world. Up the path leading to this precipice many of the martyr processions took their way, in view of the capital, and of crowds of silent and sympathizing spectators; and here, among others, were enacted the tragedies of which the following is a record, taken from the *Edinburg Review*, which has condensed it from the account given by Mr. Ellis:

"Arrived at the brink, each victim was placed on the shelving ledge, his eyes blindfolded, the test-oath offered, and, on its refusal, the rope cut which held him on the short and rapid incline. In a moment he had disappeared from view, and a crash, followed by another as the body rebounded from the second ledge to the ravine below, proclaimed that the executioner's task was completed. There were now no Europeans present to witness these scenes of Christian fortitude and trial; but several native accounts record many affecting incidents, and all preserve so remarkable an air of simplicity and sincerity as to leave no doubt of their truthfulness. In no single instance does it appear that life was purchased on the conditions offered under these circumstances of sore temptation. One old man begged that the cloth might be removed from his eyes for a few moments before death. The request was complied with, and he appeared for some time occupied in prayer. 'It is done,' was his last intimation to the executioners, and as they proceeded to blindfold him, he commenced, in clear and firm voice, one of the hymns used in native Christian worship. After he had disappeared from view, these strains of praise were heard to float up from the deep abyss, until they were drowned in death. Another, a young girl, daughter of one of the nobles, and possessed of considerable personal attractions, had so strongly aroused the compassion of the officers entrusted with this duty that continued efforts were made to save her. The oath was pressed upon her more than once during the progress of the procession from the capital; and, again, on the fatal ledge. Her father, then a follower of the native form of idolatry, but who afterwards, with his whole family, embraced Christianity, added his entreaties to the recommendations

of the royal officers. She was ordered to stand aside until all her fellow-sufferers had perished before her eyes; and fourteen Christian martyrs thus took their leave of life under her gaze. The oath then tendered to her was again refused; it is even added that in this terrible moment she made effort to impress upon her relatives the truth of those principles which upheld her. The chief idol-keeper now struck her on the mouth — pronounced her an idiot; and she was banished to a distant portion of the kingdom. Four nobles of higher rank were, on this occasion, reserved for the stake; two of them being husband and wife — the latter about to become a mother. It is even recorded that the pangs of maternity were added to this appalling hour of trial, the executioners thrusting the child back into the flames, 'where its body,' so runs the subsequent statement of a witness of the scene, 'was burned with its parents; its spirit to ascend with theirs to God.' The same firmness and constancy characterized the proceedings at Faravohitra, the place of burning, as at the precipice. 'Thus they prayed, as long as they had any life. Then they died; but softly — gently. Indeed, gentle was the going forth of their life. And astonished were all the people around that beheld the burning of them there.'"

On the death of Queen Ranavalo, in 1861, her son came to the throne with the title of Radama II. He was a Christian, having been converted and baptized at the age of seventeen, in spite of the opposition of his mother. A great change, of course, followed his accession; but owing to political and religious causes, among which were grants of land and privileges to foreigners, abolition of duties on imports, the proclamation of a law authorizing suits and legal controversies to be settled by duel or judicial combat, &c. — a revolution followed, in which the king was put to death, and his wife crowned as sovereign.

The new ruler favors the Christians, and their faith and worship are now under the protection of law. In 1865 the British Treaty was renewed, and an article was inserted pledging the native government to secure perfect religious liberty and safety to all its Christian subjects. So ends, we trust, the era of persecution in Madagascar.

Religious World.

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"Sixty years ago it would hardly have been possible to find a Protestant congregation in the north of France; now there are upwards of one hundred. The number of pastors of all the Protestant denominations of France thirty years ago did not exceed six hundred; now, taking the Reformed Church of France, the Confession of Augsburg, and the free churches not recognized by the State, the number of pastors will not be less than one thousand. The number of schools has risen in proportion, as well as the number of places of worship. It delights Monseigneur Segur and the brethren of St. Vincent de Paul to repeat, in their periodical journal, , *Protestantisme est mort*,' and yet they have formed a special association for the purpose of resisting the alarming spread of Protestantism. The great writers of the age — Guizot, Weis, St. Hilaire, Bonnechose, E. de Pressensée, are all Protestants, and now that the Protestants have nearly gained religious liberty (in all the great cities and towns at least), the mass of the French population is being leavened with such principles of religion as are in antagonism to those of Rome, whatever be the name by which they are called."

On the other hand we find another writer saying that "the worst of all movements towards religious reform, both amongst the French and Italian Catholics, is that they pass from Catholicism into pure materialism, from absolute credulity into absolute negation. It is the fear of this which makes Protestants like M. Guizot strong supporters of the Pope."

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of the contents of every theological work published in Germany. A volume of this periodical puts its reader in possession of all the important results of theological science in Germany in the course of one year. In this respect the *Jahresbericht* is a very valuable addition to the periodical literature of Protestantism, filling a place which to an equal degree has never been filled either in Germany or in any other country. The fourth number of the year 1867 completes the review of the German theological publications of the year 1866, and gives in an appendix a brief review of the theological literature published in France during the year 1866. The next volume, for the year 1868, will not only review the whole literature of Germany, but also that of other Protestant countries. For France, the United States, Denmark, Sweden, and other countries, special contributors have been engaged to furnish the several reports. This periodical should find a place in the library of every theological school of our country."

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CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Evidences of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century. By Albert Barnes. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

This book discusses the following subjects: The Limitations of the Human Mind on the subject of Religion; Historical Evidence as affected by Time; as affected by Science; The Evidence for Christianity from its Propagation; The Evidence in the nineteenth century that Miracles were performed in the First; The argument in the nineteenth century from Prophecy; Inspiration, and the objections to it in the nineteenth century; The Argument from the Personal Character and Incarnation of Christ; The Christian Religion adapted to the Wants of Man, as illustrated in the eighteen centuries past; The Relations of Christianity to the World's Progress in Science, Civilization and the Arts in the nineteenth century; and an *Appendix* of fifty pages, which aims to answer the current question — What evidence is there for the Miracles of the Bible *stronger* than that which can be alleged for Witchcraft, Necromancy, Demonology, Spiritualism? for the miracles of the Church subsequent to the time of the Apostle? for Catholic miracles? and the miracles performed among the heathen; as for example, the cure of the blind and lame man by Vespasian, at Alexandria, reported by Tacitus, and made a test case by Hume?

Some of these questions are treated with eminent ability; and difficulties, stated fairly and fully, are successfully met and answered, and frequently the war is carried into the enemy's camp with such courage and skill as to compel him to abandon the attack for defence. On the other hand, there are difficulties, stated with equal candor and fullness, which do not get such triumphant reply as the well-read and honest doubter might desire. Perhaps the chapter on Science and Religion may be mostly regarded as coming under this last head; and also the last half of that on the Evidence in the nineteenth century that miracles were wrought in the first century; as well as several of the specifications in the Appendix respecting Catholic miracles, and those of the early Church.

At the same time Mr. Barnes has done essential service to the general subject of Evidence by sifting out irrelevant matter from the discussion, clearing away a great amount of rubbish, narrowing the limits of the argument, and showing what Science has done, and what it has *not* done, and *cannot* do in its efforts to exclude the miraculous from Christian history and providence. And many excellent things are said regarding the adaptation of Christianity to the wants of man, though somewhat tinged by the author's creed; while the closing chapter on the Relation of Christianity to the science and civilization of the present time, and the manner in which the argu-

ment is shifted to entirely new grounds, is valuable for its thoughts and suggestions. And the eliminating process applied in the Appendix to the claims set up for the miracles of the primitive Church, and of the Catholic Church, brings the question down to a very small point; though, as previously remarked, some of the real difficulties are not wholly cleared away.

The candor with which Mr. Barnes confesses and states difficulties, the courtesy with which he treats such writers as Lecky, Renan, Gibbon, Hume, and the frankness with which he admits the errors of past, and perhaps present, interpretations of portions of the Bible, are worthy the imitation of many less informed and more confident.

2. The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind. By Henry Maudsley, M. D., Lond. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

We have found this volume a truly valuable contribution to an important subject. In regard to the Physiology of the mind, we have little to say. It is the old argument of materialism. The author denies that the mind or soul is a spiritual entity, an independent existence, and asserts that it is the product of organized brain matter, as the fruit is the product of the tree — no tree, no fruit; no brain, no mind. The true knowledge of the nerves and the nervous system is the foundation of all mental philosophy, and the only safe standpoint from which to construct a theory of the soul and its essence. Still he does not decide as to "the real nature of the mind," and does not positively deny the immortality of the individual. Why not? If the soul be the force of nerve and brain in action, and these cease to be living organisms, and decompose into dust, what is left for immortality?

The will is only the expression of a certain physical organization or nervous condition. And, according to Dr. Maudsley,

"If it were possible for any one to enter thoroughly into the inmost character of another person, and to become exactly acquainted with the moving springs of his conduct in his particular relations of life, it would be possible not only to predict his line of action *on every occasion*, but even to work him, *free will notwithstanding*, like an automaton, by playing on his predominant passion, interest, or principle." . . . . "The history of a man is the true revelation of his character: what he has done indicates what he has willed; what he has willed marks what he has thought and felt, or the character of his deliberations; what he has thought and felt has been the result of his nature then existing as the developmental product of a certain original constitution and a definite life experience." . . . . "The will is not an innate and constant faculty, but a gradual and varying organization." "A considerable proportion of the actions of daily life is confessedly due to the automatic faculty of the spinal cord; the sensory centres are clearly the independent causes of other actions; while many of the remaining actions that would by most people be deemed volitional, are really respondent to an idea or emotion."

But it is in Part II., "The Pathology of the Mind," that our interest chiefly centers. It treats of the causes, variety, pathology and treatment of insanity, and is crowded with facts, observations, and the records of cases, which cannot fail to inform and interest even the most indifferent reader. The valuable matter of this portion of the

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. Evidences of Christianity in the Nineteenth Century. By Albert Barnes. Harper & Brothers. 1868.

This book discusses the following subjects: The Limitations of the Human Mind on the subject of Religion; Historical Evidence as affected by Time; as affected by Science; The Evidence for Christianity from its Propagation; The Evidence in the nineteenth century that Miracles were performed in the First; The argument in the nineteenth century from Prophecy; Inspiration, and the objections to it in the nineteenth century; The Argument from the Personal Character and Incarnation of Christ; The Christian Religion adapted to the Wants of Man, as illustrated in the eighteen centuries past; The Relations of Christianity to the World's Progress in Science, Civilization and the Arts in the nineteenth century; and an *Appendix* of fifty pages, which aims to answer the current question — What evidence is there for the Miracles of the Bible *stronger* than that which can be alleged for Witchcraft, Necromancy, Demonology, Spiritualism? for the miracles of the Church subsequent to the time of the Apostle? for Catholic miracles? and the miracles performed among the heathen; as for example, the cure of the blind and lame man by Vespasian, at Alexandria, reported by Tacitus, and made a test case by Hume?

Some of these questions are treated with eminent ability; and difficulties, stated fairly and fully, are successfully met and answered, and frequently the war is carried into the enemy's camp with such courage and skill as to compel him to abandon the attack for defence. On the other hand, there are difficulties, stated with equal candor and fullness, which do not get such triumphant reply as the well-read and honest doubter might desire. Perhaps the chapter on Science and Religion may be mostly regarded as coming under this last head; and also the last half of that on the Evidence in the nineteenth century that miracles were wrought in the first century; as well as several of the specifications in the Appendix respecting Catholic miracles, and those of the early Church.

At the same time Mr. Barnes has done essential service to the general subject of Evidence by sifting out irrelevant matter from the discussion, clearing away a great amount of rubbish, narrowing the limits of the argument, and showing what Science has done, and what it has *not* done, and *cannot* do in its efforts to exclude the miraculous from Christian history and providence. And many excellent things are said regarding the adaptation of Christianity to the wants of man, though somewhat tinged by the author's creed; while the closing chapter on the Relation of Christianity to the science and civilization of the present time, and the manner in which the argu-

ment is shifted to entirely new grounds, is valuable for its thoughts and suggestions. And the eliminating process applied in the Appendix to the claims set up for the miracles of the primitive Church, and of the Catholic Church, brings the question down to a very small point; though, as previously remarked, some of the real difficulties are not wholly cleared away.

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work is an offset to the false philosophy of the first part. It is condensed from the observations of many years of an extensive medical practice; and without the knowledge it imparts no man ought to be allowed to have part in making laws, or to sit on the Judge's bench, or in the Jury box, or undertake a criminal case as a lawyer.

But the important information it furnishes is equally deserving the attention of parents, teachers, and all having the care and government of children. Let such read the chapters on "Insanity in Early Life," and "Varieties of Insanity," chapters which touch on the doctrine of pre-natal influences on character, and sustain the philosophy of Holmes' "Elsie Venner" and "The Guardian Angel." The all-important fact gets statement and proof from Dr. Maudsley, that there is a moral as well as a mental insanity; and the question of responsibility is discussed in a way to show how difficult a thing it is, sometimes, to determine the point where sanity passes over into insanity, and responsibility ceases — in other words, where the punishment of guilt ought to give place to the treatment of disease. As he justly says, "between the extremest cases of madness and the highest level of mental soundness, there will be infinite varieties shading insensibly one into another; so that no man will be able to say positively when sanity ends and insanity begins." And then with this question mixes up that other more difficult and mysterious one of hereditary taint, mental and moral, of transmitted qualities, of the nervous constitution, brain, temperament and character pre-determined by influences existing before birth; which is, in certain cases, substantially the old Calvinism of hereditary depravity, the transmission of a mental and moral virus from parent to child. Will not some of our earnestly thoughtful contributors take up this question in the pages of the *Quarterly?*

3. The Duty and Discipline of Extemporaneous Preaching. By F. B. Zincke. Charles Scribner & Co.

The author is a clergyman of the English Church, and Chaplain in ordinary to the Queen. He gives us the details of the method by which he trained himself to preach from brief notes, after fourteen years of written sermons. It contains some very useful suggestions even for those resolved to keep to their manuscripts; and will prove a valuable help to those who are struggling to attain to perfect "liberty of speech." It will show to all that speaking without writing, is not speaking without preparation.

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This charming little book is from a firm which is always giving us something good; and this "Mouthful of Bread" is *very* good. It not only furnishes French, but also very useful and much-needed knowledge, knowledge which has a religious as well as a physical side to it.

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As regards the theology and ethics of the Dervishes, they seem to have drawn largely from the best portions of the Koran and the Vedas; but then they have mixed up with these, many absurd superstitions and practices, and a liberal sprinkling of imposture and pretension. See the amusing story of the canonized Ass in Chap. xiii. If space allowed we should be glad to give some of the passages we have marked as worthy of notice; but as it is the reader must go to the book itself. And he may do this with the assurance that he will find much matter for thought, and for after inquiry, in the facts respecting the religion, philosophy and moral teachings of this strange race of beggars and fanatics, who swarm in Turkey, Egypt, Persia and India.

6. Mignonette; found among the Flowers and Weeds of Hillsdale. Boston: Benton Smith, Agent, 37 Cornhill.

We call the attention of Universalist parents and Sunday School teachers to this volume, excellent alike for narrative, style, well-drawn characters, and an elevated moral and religious tone. It is one of the books which should displace many of the questionable novels to be found in the family circle, and in not a few of our Sunday School Libraries. It is the third in the "Prize Series," and we trust its circulation among us will encourage our talented authors and enterprising publishers to bring out many more such.

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10. Woman's Wrongs: A Counter-Irritant. By Gail Hamilton. Ticknor & Fields.

Poor Dr. Todd! He was sailing on, so serene, so self-confident, so infallible, so sure of divine protection — when lo! this rebel torpedo exploded, and he and his frail bark were blown into fragments. The remains of the unfortunate victim have been gathered up by Ticknor & Fields, and embalmed in spices, as above.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Easy French Reading; being Selections of Historical Tales and Anecdotes, arranged with copious Foot-notes, &c. By Prof. E. T. Fisher. Leypoldt & Holt. For sale by Lee & Shepard. [Excellent, in every respect.]

Tommy Hickup. No. 3 of the "Rosa Abbott Series." Lee & Shepard.

Golden Truths. By C. A. M. Dorchester. Square 16mo. Lee & Shepard.

The Hermitage and Other Poems. By Edward Rowland Sill. Leypoldt & Holt. For sale by Lee & Shepard. [A new name, but one that we shall hear more of, if we do not misjudge. The evidences of talent and culture contained in this volume, are a promise of success.]

Classical Learning as an Element of Modern Scholarship: An Address delivered before the Erosophian Society of Lombard University. By Austin Adams. [An excellent plea for the study of the Classics as a part of general educational training, and as an important help in other studies, as well as in the development of character, and in the executive management of business and public affairs. The students of Lombard are fortunate in securing the services of such men as Mr. Adams. Will he not give us something for the *Quarterly* on this, or some kindred theme?]

The American Ecclesiastical Almanac, for Ministers and Laymen. By Prof. Alexander J. Schern. New York: Fred. Gerhard.

Little Dorrit by Dickens, and Waverly by Scott; T. B. Peterson's cheap edition.

Landmarks of History. From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Accession of Napoleon III. Leypoldt & Holt. For sale by Lee & Shepard. [A book which makes history an illustration of laws and principles, rather than a dry record of events, names and dates.]

Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities — Embracing Reports of the Secretary and the General Agent. Jan. 1868. Wright & Potter.

Hymn and Tune Book for the Church and the Home, and Services for Congregational Worship. Unitarian Association. [Hymns and Tunes 330 pages, and of Liturgical Services 316 pages.]

Theological Index: References to the Principal Works in every Department of Religious Literature. Embracing nearly seventy thousand Citations alphabetically arranged under two thousand heads. By Howard Malcolm, D. D., LL. D. Gould & Lincoln. [A most useful and convenient work, to be noticed in our next issue.]

The Social and Political Dependence of Women. W. V. Spencer.

The Ground and Object of Hope for Mankind. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, England. By Rev. F. D. Maurice. W. V. Spencer. [Reserved for notice.]

Mozart: A Biographical Romance from the German of Herebert Rau. By E. R. Sill. Leypoldt & Holt.

Human Life in Shakespeare. By Henry Giles. Lee & Shepard.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, with Explanatory Notes, to which are added a Condensed View of the Priesthood of Christ, and a Translation of the Epistle prepared for this work. By Henry J. Ripley. Gould & Lincoln.

Article XVI.

Growth and Progress.

Is the world improving or deteriorating? Are we better or worse than the generations that have played their part here and passed the way of all the earth? This question resolves itself at last into the problem of man's condition, when introduced into this drama of life. Was the primitive man a philosopher or barbarian? At his entrance here, whether six thousand, or sixty thousand, years since, was he the happy possessor of the knowledge and culture of advanced civilization; or was he the rude child of the forest, endowed with those splendid powers, through the culture and use of which he must rise by his own efforts? Did the race, like the individual, begin the world in a kind of infancy — weak, ignorant, destitute; or was the primitive man of full stature, physically, mentally and morally? Has the lapse of ages broken down those outlying races of men, in Africa, Australia and the Arctic Circle, far removed from the present centres of light and knowledge, whom we call barbarians, from some unrecorded era of splendor; or has it raised the more fortunate or favored races of to-day from an early barbarism common to the race?

Were we to judge from what we know of the early races — the rude remains of human skill, transmitted to us in dens, caves — at the bottom of lakes and rivers, and in the crust of the earth — it would seem plain enough that the dominant races of to-day have climbed a long and toilsome ascent which some are still climbing, and others yet at the foot. But this is by no means the unanimous verdict; and within the historic period there has existed the same variety of opinion on this point which we discover to-day. In ancient times, as in our own, there were those who placed the golden age of the race in the Past. Homer abounds in disparaging reflections on the "men of these degenerate days":

10. Woman's Wrongs: A Counter-Irritant. By Gail Hamilton. Ticknor & Fields.

Poor Dr. Todd! He was sailing on, so serene, so self-confident, so infallible, so sure of divine protection — when lo! this rebel torpedo exploded, and he and his frail bark were blown into fragments. The remains of the unfortunate victim have been gathered up by Ticknor & Fields, and embalmed in spices, as above.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Easy French Reading; being Selections of Historical Tales and Anecdotes, arranged with copious Foot-notes, &c. By Prof. E. T. Fisher. Leypoldt & Holt. For sale by Lee & Shepard. [Excellent, in every respect.]

Tommy Hickup. No. 3 of the "Rosa Abbott Series." Lee & Shepard.

Golden Truths. By C. A. M. Dorchester. Square 16mo. Lee & Shepard.

The Hermitage and Other Poems. By Edward Rowland Sill. Leypoldt & Holt. For sale by Lee & Shepard. [A new name, but one that we shall hear more of, if we do not misjudge. The evidences of talent and culture contained in this volume, are a promise of success.]

Classical Learning as an Element of Modern Scholarship: An Address delivered before the Erosophian Society of Lombard University. By Austin Adams. [An excellent plea for the study of the Classics as a part of general educational training, and as an important help in other studies, as well as in the development of character, and in the executive management of business and public affairs. The students of Lombard are fortunate in securing the services of such men as Mr. Adams. Will he not give us something for the *Quarterly* on this, or some kindred theme?]

The American Ecclesiastical Almanac, for Ministers and Laymen. By Prof. Alexander J. Schern. New York: Fred. Gerhard.

Little Dorrit by Dickens, and Waverly by Scott; T. B. Peterson's cheap edition.

Landmarks of History. From the Beginning of the Reformation to the Accession of Napoleon III. Leypoldt & Holt. For sale by Lee & Shepard. [A book which makes history an illustration of laws and principles, rather than a dry record of events, names and dates.]

Report of the Massachusetts Board of State Charities — Embracing Reports of the Secretary and the General Agent. Jan. 1868. Wright & Potter.

Hymn and Tune Book for the Church and the Home, and Services for Congregational Worship. Unitarian Association. [Hymns and Tunes 330 pages, and of Liturgical Services 316 pages.]

Theological Index: References to the Principal Works in every Department of Religious Literature. Embracing nearly seventy thousand Citations alphabetically arranged under two thousand heads. By Howard Malcolm, D. D., LL. D. Gould & Lincoln. [A most useful and convenient work, to be noticed in our next issue.]

The Social and Political Dependence of Women. W. V. Spencer.

The Ground and Object of Hope for Mankind. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, England. By Rev. F. D. Maurice. W. V. Spencer. [Reserved for notice.]

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"Then fierce Tydides stoops; and from the fields
Heaved with vast force, a rocky fragment wields.
Not two strong men th' enormous weight could raise,
Such men as live in these degenerate days.
He swung it round; and gathering strength to throw,
Discharged the ponderous ruin at the foe." *Ill.* B. V.

Indeed, this doctrine of the degeneracy of the race, morally as well as physically, has been woven into the popular creeds of Christendom. It is a part of our early religious teaching, that man's primitive habitation was an earthly paradise, full of such happiness as earth has not seen since it was forfeited by our first parents. We have missed the beauty and worth of that dramatic representation, by insisting upon its scientific and historical character, rather than accepting it purely for its moral and religious truth. It teaches the bliss of innocence and obedience, rather than the condition of the infant race in intellectual development; — that knowledge alone does not make gods of men, and, when coupled with guilt, may bring miseries which ignorance and innocence never know.

Every trace of man that has come down to us from the early, or pre-historic, periods of the race, tells of growth in all that distinguishes the mental and moral being. In every direction, as we trace back the lines of his slow and painful march, the light and beauty of the Present give place to the darkness and deformity of barbarism. There is not a fragment left of his early handicraft, that does not exhibit the rudeness of the unskilled workman; not a trace of his early art, that does not betray the untaught hand; not a sentence of his early thought, but tells of the unfurnished mind. Even in those remains that are comparatively recent, we discover the development of the inferior powers disproportioned to that of the superior. In the pyramids, temples and monuments of Egypt, the mechanical powers are exhibited as the characteristic of the people, combined with that peculiar type of civilization which could thus heap up the useless toil of millions, and leave the memorials of their folly to the ages. One art alone would we gladly recover from the pyramid builders — the art of tempering copper to cut the granite of which the pyramids are built; — and for that we would gladly

exchange the useless heaps of stone. The same is true of the remains of Nineveh, recently exhumed. Whatever skill is exhibited in the sculpture of those uncouth monsters, is eclipsed by the mental imbecility which could devote the labor of generations to such a purpose. The sculptured form of a man with the head and wings of an eagle, was their symbol of divinity; but no artistic skill in the execution can atone for the mental or spiritual poverty which could accept such a monster as a representative of divine powers.

Solomon plainly disowns the theory which so many of our religious teachers think they inherit from the Jews: "Say not thou what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this." Still how many are clinging to the idea of a golden age of the Past, basing their air-castles upon the superior skill of the Egyptians in heaping up pyramids of granite, and of the ancient Assyrians in sculpturing winged and human-headed bulls and lions. It is to be presumed that the wonders of sculpture recently exhumed on the banks of the Tigris, and the wonders of granite piled up in the valley of the Nile, were familiar to the wise Hebrew King. His own name, indeed, is associated with some of the most wonderful ruins of antiquity — those of "Tadmor in the wilderness." But, if he were living to-day, it may be well doubted, whether, as a proof of advanced civilization, he would put these ancient ruins on a par with the printing-press, steamships, railways and electric telegraphs of our day. He might still say to the devotees of the Past, as to those of his own generation: "Say not thou what is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this."

Still, the race of those who look wistfully to the former days, is not extinct; those to whom the winged lions with human heads are more interesting and venerable than the accumulated wealth of experience with which the ages have enriched the race. They sigh only for the days of old; they are impatient of the resistless tide that sweeps them away from the familiar landmarks. There is nothing in the Pres-

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ent to enlist their sympathies; nothing in the Future to sustain their hope. They are the prophets of evil; they assure us the world is growing worse and worse; men were never so wicked; business never such systematic knavery; politicians never so unprincipled and corrupt; religion never such hollow hypocrisy as to-day. For them there is but one bright spot in the world; and that is away in some imaginary Eden of the Past, where appetite and passion resigned their power over the human heart. Things will never be right; times never prosperous; men never honest and noble, or women true as fair, till the return of that golden age over which callow poets and shallow dreamers have brooded so fondly, and which, if they would resolutely pursue the receding phantom, they would find only in the forests, caves and wigwams of the primitive race. Theirs is the saddest of mortal experience. They cannot help seeing that the current of destiny is sweeping the world rapidly onward, while they believe that some demoniac power has reversed the engine, and the race is plunging madly and blindly to perdition. The universe is out of joint. Change, movement, with them, are only other names for evil, since no movement sets in the direction of their desires.

These men are the enemies of all change; they magnify its incidental evils, and ignore its permanent good. When railroad enterprise attracts the attention of the people, they mourn over the evils it will bring. Horses will depreciate in value; stage companies will be ruined; hostlers and drivers will be thrown out of employ; and stage taverns deserted. Costly farms, near large towns and cities, will be brought into ruinous competition with those fifty or a hundred miles away, worth not a tenth part as much; besides the frightful increase of travel induced by greater facilities and less expense. They forget that people will not travel unless they choose; and when they wish to travel, the saving of time and money will be no serious objection. The enhanced value of farms for fifty or a hundred miles around the great commercial centres, the people will not regard as an intolerable oppression; nor

will the dwellers in the city complain of the cheaper rates at which they receive whatever the country yields.

But every step in advance meets with the same opposition from this class of men. The stage-coach had to fight its way into favor, less than two centuries since. It had to encounter the strangest objections, and above all, the prejudice of those who opposed it merely because it was a change. It would ruin the breed of horses, the art of horsemanship; wayside inns would be deserted; it was too hot in summer, too cold in winter. Hence, numerous petitions were presented to the King in council for their suppression. "We smile at these things," says Macaulay. "It is not impossible that our descendants, when they read the history of the opposition, offered by cupidity and prejudice, to the improvements of the nineteenth century, may smile in turn."

The printing-press had to encounter the same opposition. Thousands of copyists were thrown out of employ by that engine of light and knowledge. They had families dependent upon their labor for support; and they were educated to that business, and knew no other; the printing-press would make them beggars. The great libraries would become almost worthless; their works could be multiplied so rapidly and so cheaply. The world would be flooded with books; they would cease to be a luxury for the wealthy and learned, and become the common property of the people. But will such arguments induce us to forego the daily paper? Will they tempt any lover of books to banish those dear companions of our studious hours; choice spirits in whose communion we delight; helpers of our toil, and partners of our pleasure, by whose wealth we are enriched? But innovation to such men is like water to a rabid dog.

Opposed to these is another class of men who clamor for change, forgetting that change is not always improvement. To them the Past is but folly, and the Present is imbecility content with the folly of the Past. They detest everything that bears the silvery impress of time; they denounce, in no mild terms, those who "cling to the Past" — so they are

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pleased to call those who pay a decent respect to the wisdom and toil of the generations who have gone before us. The Past, they tell us, is dead; let it bury its dead. Its philosophies are false; its creeds are lies; and its prophets, at best, only self-deluded fanatics, deceiving the people.

This class, of course, furnishes the motive power of the world, while the other serves the useful purpose of regulators and brakes. It cannot be denied that these men have been the great reformers of the world, most unwelcome in their day and generation; men with tongues of fire and nerves of steel; who saw more clearly the right, and looked deeper than their fellows into the wrongs of their time. This is the material of which prophets are made, though, unfortunately, not always in our day, wedded to the genuine prophetic spirit. Often, it is to be feared, like some who claimed to be prophets of old, they have not been sent, yet they ran; they have heard no divine word, yet they have prophesied.

Such men sometimes assume the name of reformers, as men of old assumed the rough habit of the prophet, to deceive the people. All their theories are destructive. The first article in their creed might well be: "We believe in a war of extermination against all institutions, whether called human or divine." Such a creed would best explain their course. They attack both church and state; worship and wedlock are equally offensive to them; they respect alike Moses and Mahomet; accept Paul and Plato as of equal authority. So liberal are they that their mantle of charity covers any sin but dissent from *their* views. Making large draughts upon our patience, they have little for others who doubt their infallibility. Such bitterness of speech and spirit as these reformers sometimes exhibit, seems hardly to be the fruit of love, either to God or man. A few years ago, non-resistants were the most contentious people in the land; and the tongues of peace advocates were sharper than a Damascus blade. The experience of the past seven years has mitigated this affliction. Such men disown all allegiance to the Past — as impatient of the old as the former class of the new; and since all

our institutions, secular and religious, are but modifications of those we have received from the Past; since our knowledge is but the fair fruit of past experience — our science but the accumulations of past research — they have declared war upon them all. They are "anti-law," "anti-government," "anti-Sabbath," "anti-Scriptures," "anti-marriage," "anti-church," "anti-Christian," and "anti-Christ." One naturally feels a little solicitous to know what the condition of the world will be, when all these "reformers" shall have accomplished their mission. But, to guard against uncharitable judgment, it is well to remember that the genuine prophet of old, was not always acceptable to those whose sins he denounced. He who throws himself upon the popular current, repeats the stereotyped phrases with which the people are familiar, and faithfully observes the appointed ritual, is the accepted prophet; he runs no risk of being sawn asunder or crucified.

These two classes, with their crosses and intermixtures, constitute mankind. As one or the other element predominates in the man, his views of the primitive state, past history, present conditions, and future prospects of the race, will approximate the one or the other of these classes. If he holds the golden age to have been in the Past, he will resist all progress, detest all innovation; the most he will concede is that the Present shall remain unchanged. He would prefer to have the Past "as it was"; but, as that may not be, he insists upon the Present as it is. If he holds that the millennium is just ahead, he will make all haste to reach it, spurning the good in the Past and the Present, in his eager haste to catch the "will o' the wisp," and learn his error when he finds himself floundering in the swamp.

Each theory is partly true and partly false; and both fail in misapprehending the Present and its relations; hence, one cannot appreciate our indebtedness to the Past; the other, our hopes for the Future. He who finds good only in the Past, cannot be trusted to guide us in the Present, or explain our hope for the Future. He who spurns the Past, cannot

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teach us wisely to improve its experience or treasure its wisdom. The Past, Present and Future are wedded in bonds inexorable as fate; without the Past, our Present could not be; and they are both necessary to our Future. From the Past comes all our wealth of culture and civilization; in the Present we analyze, re-combine and elaborate new and better forms; the Future will receive the results of our labors, as we receive from those who have gone before.

These classes, apparently so antagonistic, are necessary to the healthy organization and growth of the race. Few movements in nature result from a simple force. The centripetal and centrifugal forces of the planetary systems are necessary to the sublime movement and harmony of worlds. So in society we have the centripetal conservatism, the root of harmony and order, and the centrifugal radicalism, the source of movement and progress. If one ruled alone, no change would be possible; if the other, there would be nothing but change. Veneration for the Past prompts the preservation of all the good it has transmitted to us, often mingled with error; but better so, than discard the good. By and by, the hater of the Past will kindle the fires of reform under the old crucible, and separate the gold from the dross — this to be cast out and trodden under foot, and that to become the current coin of the ages.

The impatience of the reformer, kindled as it often is by the respected and venerated wrongs festering in society, performs a much-needed work. He does not spare them because they are old; he has no reverence for their hoary heads. He "threshes them with a hoof of iron, and winnows them with a storm." If men have invested interests in them, 'tis their affair, not his. "Woe unto them who frame mischief by law," he cries, as they reel under his blows. When he strips from iniquity and falsehood their robes of respectability, he is greeted with outcries and cursing; but he "spares not for their crying." Better thus than the evils should be perpetuated, blighting everything beautiful in the land. So long as men persist in defending gray-bearded iniquities, and uphold

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them by law, because money can be made by them — though men, women and children are sacrificed in the process — other men will expose their baseness and tell their shame to the world. Those whose interests are in peril — that is, those who gain money, gratify their passions, or serve their ambition by the evil — will curse him who overturns their idol. The mob headed by Demetrius to silence the Apostle whose preaching threatened his idolatrous business, is a sample of the bitterness with which self-interest opposes divine truth. In some form this is ever repeated, from the time that Pharaoh refused to set the Hebrew bondmen free, to the time when so many among us howled their curses at the liberation of our own bondmen. The Egyptian King pursued the fugitive Israelites to bring them again under the lash. We know the result; may we be warned by the example.

The seven vials of wrath which Papal Rome poured upon the head of Luther, for intermeddling with her iniquitous traffic in indulgences, was but another exhibition of the same spirit prompted by the same motive. From this base root springs all opposition to new truth, or new applications of the old. The Pagans put the early Christians to death for the same reason that the Jews crucified Jesus. They preached against the old systems to which Pagans and Jews were wedded; they attacked old prejudices; they humbled ancient pride; they undermined old institutions, sacred and secular; they put vast interests in peril. Is it strange they should have been treated as they were? Can anything be more hateful to a thoroughly base, corrupt and prejudiced people, than the true prophet who exposes their leprosy to the world, and bids them forsake their sins? Is anything more odious to a thoroughly wicked man than the faithful teacher who bids him repent and bring forth fruits meet for repentance? This is the great battle of the world; it must be continually waged anew to the end.

Now, these two forces are not accidental in human affairs; they are not exotics transplanted from some foreign clime into the garden of life; they are providential and necessary.

teach us wisely to improve its experience or treasure its wisdom. The Past, Present and Future are wedded in bonds inexorable as fate; without the Past, our Present could not be; and they are both necessary to our Future. From the Past comes all our wealth of culture and civilization; in the Present we analyze, re-combine and elaborate new and better forms; the Future will receive the results of our labors, as we receive from those who have gone before.

These classes, apparently so antagonistic, are necessary to the healthy organization and growth of the race. Few movements in nature result from a simple force. The centripetal and centrifugal forces of the planetary systems are necessary to the sublime movement and harmony of worlds. So in society we have the centripetal conservatism, the root of harmony and order, and the centrifugal radicalism, the source of movement and progress. If one ruled alone, no change would be possible; if the other, there would be nothing but change. Veneration for the Past prompts the preservation of all the good it has transmitted to us, often mingled with error; but better so, than discard the good. By and by, the hater of the Past will kindle the fires of reform under the old crucible, and separate the gold from the dross — this to be cast out and trodden under foot, and that to become the current coin of the ages.

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Now, these two forces are not accidental in human affairs; they are not exotics transplanted from some foreign clime into the garden of life; they are providential and necessary.

They have always been at work, since there was such a thing as human society, and they must work as long as that society lasts. Like every other blessing, they are liable to abuse. The abuse of one gives the idolater of the Past, with his head wrong side before, who will not see evil in anything that is old, or good in anything that is new. The abuse of the other gives the genuine fanatic, spurning the Past and the Present, girt in armor of steel, rushing blindly on under a canopy of God's shining worlds, to catch a shadowy phantom, the delusion of his own diseased brain. Their harmonious combination constitutes that compound force — the motive and regulative — by which God moves the affairs of men. This is the source — or rather the instrumentality — of our mental, moral and spiritual growth; the method by which He, who doeth all things well, will yet redeem the world.

With this view of the forces that have been active in the progress of the race, of the offices they perform, and the persons naturally attracted to each, let us lay aside all preconceived opinions, and try to judge the case on its own merits. It is plain that man, at his entrance on this earthly scene, without regard to how or when he came, must have commenced business with a very limited capital. He had only a pair of unskilled hands, a pair of untrained feet, an uncovered body, and an untaught mind. And with all this destitution he had certain urgent necessities. Hunger could not wait; he must eat, but he could not cook. Hence one essential, expensive, and often perplexing business of our civilized life was unknown to him. His house, whatever it might be, had neither kitchen nor dining-room. He had instinct for his guide, like the animal; and beyond that God had endowed him with reason capable of observing and profiting by the lessons of experience. In this, so far as we can see, lay his great superiority over all the creatures that he found around him. He could do better to-morrow, for his experience to-day; while the first swallow built her nest as well as ever swallow's nest was built. Man's early dwelling-place must have been in a warm climate, under a genial sun, for he had

neither fire nor clothing. His food, of course, was only such as nature supplied — such fruits and vegetables as instinct suggested and reason approved, to satisfy his appetites. Before he could remove to a more rigorous climate, or materially change his diet, two great steps in the progress of the race had to be taken. He must learn how to obtain fire, and how to use it; and he must invent some kind of clothing for himself. He might easily observe the effects of fire, from the lightning, or the outbreak of a volcano; but how could he manage it, or rekindle it, when it was lost? Considering the importance of fire to man, we are at no loss to account for the old mythologic fable of Prometheus stealing fire from heaven, and teaching man how to use it. It is only the play of oriental fancy with one of the great elements of human growth — the invention of fire. Hence, too, the fire-worship, which in early times seems to have been well-nigh universal; the worship of the sun, the source of fire, and the sacred lamp kept perpetually burning on all shrines. It is not strange that man should regard as divine what was so eminently useful to him; or that, before the times of tinder boxes and friction matches, he should take extraordinary pains to preserve what he found it so difficult to re-produce. The hearths of the households could be readily re-lighted from the sacred lamp; and they were thus constantly reminded of the sacred origin of fire. Many efforts have been made to idealize, or spiritualize, this ancient worship, making fire, or light, the symbol of intelligence, and hence of God. That it should be so regarded in later times was natural; but that was not the origin of fire-worship; it was only a later form of man's acknowledgment of his indebtedness to that element. Its necessity and beneficence to man was the ground of the later symbol. Its benefit might well represent the goodness of God, and its light all divine truth. But man, suffering under the privations of his early state, would appreciate the benefits of fire ages before the speculative faculty would use it as a symbol of invisible powers, whether demoniac, or divine. And when we think of its inconceivable importance

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to our present civilization; when we try to imagine what the present condition of the race would be, if that one element had never been known on earth, is it very strange that the primitive man should worship it; and would not the lamp that preserved it for a whole community be regarded as sacred, while it was so difficult for man to produce it? The invention of the "Lucifer match" would have destroyed at once fire-worship and the sacred lamp. Yet man must become master of fire; he must know how to use it, and to rekindle it when extinguished, before he could leave the warm climates, where perpetual Spring furnished at all times the necessary supply of food. How many ages elapsed before he accomplished this first great step towards the civilization of to-day, no records tell, and no man knows.

The next most urgent necessity to the primitive man was clothing. In the warm latitudes where the changes of temperature are slight, clothes are not a necessity, but range the whole scale between the simplest convenience and the most expensive luxury. But those latitudes are not the most friendly to man; their forests are full of the fiercest animals; the earth swarms with the most venomous reptiles and insects, and the air is poisoned by deadly miasmata from their reeking and pestilent swamps. Yet there he must stay till he has accomplished a greater work for his age than steamships and telegraphs for ours. He must invent clothes. The beaver was well dressed, in a suit warm enough for winter, cool enough for summer, uninjured by rain or sun, plain enough for a working suit, and fine enough for any company. But man, before he can be dressed in any suit, even of the fig-leaf pattern, or the skins of animals, must have done a great deal of thinking for those days. Thus he showed his superiority to the beaver, the bear and the gorilla. The beaver wears the same beautiful, sober-colored dress, of the same pattern with the first beaver; but man would hardly be content now with garments of the earliest style. The comfortable and beautiful garments worn to-day have superseded the early and more economical fashion; but who has com-

puted the almost infinite toil, both of head and hands, that bridges the distance between the first and the last; that has substituted fancy silks for fig-leaves, doeskins for bearskins, and pilot cloths for pelts?

We know little of the processes by which this work has been accomplished, especially in its earlier stages; but, take those represented in the monuments of Egypt, where every thread is slowly twisted by hand, and woven into cloth by methods equally laborious; who can imagine the amount of thinking, perplexity, toil, failure and success, that lies between that simple spindle, turned in the hand, and the spinning frames of Lowell, Manchester and Lewiston; between the crude frame that served the Egyptian as a loom, and the Jacquard and Bigelow looms of our day? It could hardly be expected that so frail a material as that which constituted the clothing of men in the early ages should transmit any specimens to our day. But one of the objects of strange interest recently discovered in a bone cavern near Liege, in Belgium, is a well-polished bone needle, pierced at the base with an eye, with which they sewed together the skins of beasts into the clothes of their time. It was a long distance from the beginning to that polished needle of bone "eight inches long"; and that needle is a long distance from a Florence, or Wheeler & Wilson's machine. Whose thinking and toil have filled the wide gap between them?

Man early exhibited the profound instinct of home, that has haunted him through all his history, and supplied the principal motive of his activity, whether of head or hand. The vestiges of these homes we can trace back a long distance; but how far that may be from the beginning no one can imagine. At first, caves of the earth, and clefts of the rocks, furnished shelter and partial protection; but these resources must fail as the race increased, and he finds the toil of thinking as necessary here as in any sphere of his life. It is hardly supposable that the early specimens of architecture should be remarkable for their elegance; but they showed that mind was present, and not simply instinct.

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At various places along the coast of Denmark, vast deposits of marine shells have long been known to exist, sometimes a thousand feet in length, from one to two hundred feet wide, and from three to ten feet deep. These were first thought to be natural deposits, indicating that their site was formerly covered by the sea. But on examination they were found to have been deposited by human hands, in ages and generations unknown to history. Among them are found the bones of wild animals, some of species now extinct, but of no domestic animal except the dog. They contain the bones of various wild fowl; bones of fishes; and among them rudely fashioned implements of flint; coarse pottery; charcoal and cinders, with the little pavements that served as fire-places. But not a trace of any kind of metal has been discovered. There are fish-hooks, awls, chisels, and even a comb, of bone; rude wedges, hatchets, knives, arrow-heads and lance-heads of flint; but not a trace of iron, copper, lead or tin.

At first, man's only arms, offensive and defensive, were his hands, his only tools his fingers. How many ages it took to furnish him with flint hatchets, arrow-heads, spear-points, knives; awls, needles, combs and fish-hooks of bone, who can say? And how many ages from that time to the Present? How many generations from flint-headed arrows to a modern Arsenal? How many from a sling and pebble to a Minie rifle and a twenty-inch cannon?

It is about thirteen years since there were found, at certain points in the lakes of Switzerland, the remains of piles, corroded and worn sometimes down to the bottom of the lakes. Here the space is strewn with the relics of an unknown age, showing conclusively that those piles once supported towns and villages. They were wharfed over, and covered with small dwellings, some fifteen feet in diameter, of interlaced branches of trees plastered on the inside with clay. The village, containing, sometimes, it is thought, fifteen hundred inhabitants, was connected with the shore only by a narrow causeway, and that so constructed that it could be broken by raising or removing a kind of draw-bridge. The purpose was

plainly that of defence; it was a kind of walled city or fortress. The age of the earliest of these structures, judged by the relics of human industry obtained from the rubbish beneath, corresponds with that of the shell-deposits of Denmark. It represents the civilization of the age; not only the methods of building, with considerable insight into their domestic habits, but their skill as military engineers. It was their fenced city — a kind of ancient Fortress Monroe, colonized. No hint of such a people remains in any record, save in these fragments of their industry. It is a long march from the primeval man even to such a fortified city; and who can tell how many ages of straining mind and muscle would be required to lift that rude wharf of mud-huts to the dignity of New York, Paris or London? How many centuries would develop such architecture into specimens like St. Peter's and St. Paul's Cathedrals? Yet all the elements are present in the hut; the being that could drive piles in the lake, and build his house upon them, whatever the motive, was sure in time to build cathedrals and cities. It was the thinker that made the result sure; that fulfills all prophecies of growth and progress; that within the last century has accomplished what the wildest dreamer would not have dared to predict. This is the track of all growth; by thinking, man ceases to be a savage, living on game and plunder; builds cities; has a home; surrounds himself with the thousand-fold utilities and luxuries of civilized life. He builds churches, schools, colleges, galleries of art; has literature, laws and government. The dweller in caves and huts has become the tenant of palaces which the ancient gods might envy, outshining the Orient in splendors.

The primitive man had no roads. True, he had little need to journey on business, or for pleasure. The whole world was before him; whether he owned all of it, or none of it, was of little consequence, while no one contested his title. His wanderings at first would be only in search of food. But in process of time, population would increase; neighboring colonies would spring up, and with them a collision of inter-

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est, and war — that universal occupation of savage nations. Travel, for the individual, and for bodies of men, would become a necessity. They must thread the mazes of the forest, climb the mountain side, and cross the perilous marsh; and at night accept such food and shelter as the wilderness afforded. But the traveller, weary with his toil, was a thinker, too, and as willing that others should work for him, as his more civilized brother of our day. The horse could travel faster than the man, and carry the walker on his back. The logic was simple, but the conclusion sound, and the result certain. It was a proud day for civilization that saw the little Nautilus, Fulton's first steamer, riding gracefully upon the Siene; a prouder day for the inventor that saw the Clermont breasting the current of the Hudson. But he who first caught a wild horse, or a swift dromedary, and rode off in triumph upon his back, was a bolder innovator than Fulton; his genius set the world further forward upon the path of progress.

The next step in the process was more simple, and followed close upon this. It would not take long to learn that the horse could draw more than he could carry. Carriages followed as the legitimate conclusion from such premises; so the narrow track of the early traveller became a highway, travelled by thousands of carriages of luxury and utility. It became a post road over which, on great emergencies, reeking horses whirled the rumbling coach, with all its contents, ten miles an hour. Men were disposed to stop at that, because further progress seemed impracticable. But what do we see to-day along the track of that early traveller? The hills are humbled; the valleys exalted; the crooked is made straight, and the rough places plain. The path is ribbed with iron, and the steam-car dashes over it with the speed of a bird, bearing a population sufficient to plant a colony, and merchandise by ship-loads to the great marts of commerce. The solitary wanderer in the forest path once represented the highest point of civilization; how long before the post-coach would follow, and then the railroad?

In navigation the process was essentially the same. A log of wood served the early traveller as a ferry-boat; several of them bound together would carry his family and household goods at once. Scooped out to a shell by the aid of fire and flint hatchets, the log would be lighter to manage, and carry a greater burden. And this was the primitive boat, the father of the whole race of boats — the stately merchant ship, spreading her white wings to every breeze, the proud steamship, which, waiting neither wind nor tide, flings abroad her pennon of cloud by day and fire by night, dashes on, quivering in every fibre at the pulsations of her heart of flame. It is a strange posterity to spring from such an ancestry; but the hollowed log, the shadowy birch canoe, or whatever form the first boat assumed, was only a prophecy of the Great Eastern in its time. Who can compute the lapse of ages that separates them?

Till within our memory, the facilities for communication were the same as for locomotion. The primitive traveller, express courier, post-coach, vessel, steamship, and the railway, have served as channels of communication between those at a distance; but the man could travel as fast as his message. But there was a swift courier in the world, if we could only devise means to secure his services. Without any exaggeration, he would "put a girdle round the earth in forty minutes"; and we had only to furnish the proper mode of conveyance, and he would take our message to any place in the world. In our grandfather's days Dr. Franklin sent up his paper kite among the clouds, with an invitation to the lightning to come down among people quietly and peaceably. It came, was a little unruly at first, but finally submitted with a good grace, to a little wholesome restraint. Then Prof. Morse took it in hand and taught it how to read and write. These were only elementary lessons. It was transferred to Master Field's class, and there taught navigation. Whether the education is to stop at this point, it would be hazardous to say. In case of emergency we give our letter to the lightning; and our friend in San Francisco, at ten o'clock in the

est, and war — that universal occupation of savage nations. Travel, for the individual, and for bodies of men, would become a necessity. They must thread the mazes of the forest, climb the mountain side, and cross the perilous marsh; and at night accept such food and shelter as the wilderness afforded. But the traveller, weary with his toil, was a thinker, too, and as willing that others should work for him, as his more civilized brother of our day. The horse could travel faster than the man, and carry the walker on his back. The logic was simple, but the conclusion sound, and the result certain. It was a proud day for civilization that saw the little Nautilus, Fulton's first steamer, riding gracefully upon the Siene; a prouder day for the inventor that saw the Clermont breasting the current of the Hudson. But he who first caught a wild horse, or a swift dromedary, and rode off in triumph upon his back, was a bolder innovator than Fulton; his genius set the world further forward upon the path of progress.

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morning, may easily read a message written in Boston at twelve o'clock the same day. The old mythological Mercury, with winged cap and sandals, though honored as a god, was the veriest laggard beside our real Mercury, who is to-day bearing our messages by land and sea throughout the world. Even the fiery steeds of Apollo are no match for our penny-post; and the god of light blushes a rosier hue to see himself at last fairly distanced in the race. But, mythology aside, it is a most wonderful feat of this thinking creature whom we call man. He touches a magic key in Boston, and is at once heard in London, Paris, Constantinople and St. Petersburg. The time is not distant when the merchant in New York may send his message to Pekin by way of San Francisco, and receive an answer the same hour by way of London, traversing the whole circuit of the globe. The primitive man could talk with his friend a mile distant, suppose; we talk with our friends two, three, or five thousand miles away, with equal ease. This may well represent the most advanced point of our present civilization — our greatest remove from primitive barbarism.

In the early ages, an event which it was desirable to preserve accurately for future reference, would present a perplexing difficulty. How should it be done? Rude symbolic characters, traced on the bark of trees, pieces of wood, or smooth stones, were the first attempts at a written language; and such for ages was probably the only form in which any record could be preserved. Some time in the lapse of generations, a lucky genius hit upon the idea of making a written character represent a vocal sound; the prophecy of the alphabet and all its appurtenances, from the style and ink-horn of the ancient scribe, to Hoe's latest lightning press. The press is only an auxiliary of the alphabet; a better method, not a change of principle. Its invention placed its author high among our benefactors; but even Faust must yield the palm to him who has left us neither his name nor his time, only the alphabet. In one respect the press has revolutionized the world of letters. A poor peasant can now purchase a library

which in ancient times would have exhausted the revenues of a kingdom. Knowledge is no longer confined to a small and privileged class, but diffused among the people. A lad of ten years now stands higher in some departments of knowledge than the sages of antiquity. He does not believe that the earth is a wide plain, surrounded by — nobody knows what; supported — nobody knows how. He does not think the stars are mere specks of flame hung up in the heavens, like lamps in a church, to give light in the absence of the sun. Thanks to the printing-press, which puts the keys of knowledge in the hands of the people, so that all who will, may enter the temple.

To the best instructed human eye, the middle star in the sword of Orion seems no larger than the gem that glitters upon a lady's bosom. But through the broad telescopic eye which man now lifts to heaven, that simple star is resolved into a glorious system of worlds and suns. Once man thought the stars but a little way off — just above the clouds. Now, with a telescope five hundred times more powerful than the unaided eye, he sees world after world, and system after system, sweeping on their sublime flight, away on the dim verge of space, so distant from the world we inhabit, that the rays of light, travelling two hundred thousand miles in a second, require sixty thousand years to cross the abyss, and report the distant world.

Sometimes men of influence, learning and genius, attempt unconsciously to arrest the advancing tide of progress, to the peril of their reputation, more than anything else. Fulton's first steamboat, the Nautilus, exhibited upon the Seine, was examined and condemned by a committee of scientific men from the Institute of France, appointed at the request of Napoleon. A few years after, he built the Clermont in New York, and has revolutionized the commercial and naval marine of the world, in spite of the adverse decision of the French savants. When Capt. Ericksson first applied the screw propeller to steamboats, a delegation of the British Admiralty examined and condemned the invention, which has since been so generally adopted, especially for vessels of

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by all civilized nations. When it was proposed to light the streets of London with gas instead of oil, Sir Humphrey Davy, the first chemist, and one of the most eminent scientific men of his time, was consulted as to the feasibility of the enterprise. He replied that they might as well attempt to cut a slice from the moon and use that for lighting the streets. It may well be recorded as a striking instance of the folly of great men. So, too, when it was proposed to establish a line of steamers between Europe and America, Dr. Lardner, one of the first scientific men of the age, pronounced the thing impossible, and supported his decision by a demonstration, resting on what was then deemed reliable scientific data, in regard to working steam vessels. He had hardly published his decision to the world, before it was falsified by the accomplishment of *its* impossibility. Thus scientific men, when they throw themselves before the wheels of the car of progress, fare no better than the devotees under the car-wheels of Juggernaut.

Thus the race moves on the long march of ages. A generation accomplishes but little, it may be; but how surprising the contrast between the primitive ages and our own! Then we saw man toiling slowly along his forest path; naked, or clad in the skins of beasts; armed with his sling and pebbles, javelin, or bow, both for sustenance and defence; a wild savage, moved by the fiercest passions, and indulging them with no other restraint than satiety or necessity. See him now, pursuing his way with the speed of the wind; clad in simple or costly elegance; seated in a car whose tramp shakes the earth; dwelling in stately edifices more beautiful than the ancient shrines of the gods, more elegantly furnished than the palaces of oriental princes; though a thousand miles from home, communicating instantly with the dear circle at his fireside; multiplying copies of ancient works with a rapidity of which their authors never dreamed; making the lightning his messenger to collect intelligence and sow it broadcast among the people and the nations; measuring the worlds that plow the fields of space, as easily as a surveyor measures an

acre of land, or an engineer locates a railway; boring the mountains and stringing them like beads upon threads of iron, to make a highway for his pleasure or his commerce.

The comparison of the favored child of Christian civilization in our day, with the ancient dwellers in caves and mud huts; the style of living with which we are familiar, with the "Digger Indians," for example, subsisting upon grasshoppers, slugs, worms, and wild plums — which once represented the van guard of civilization, instead of the stragglers in the rear — is unpleasantly suggestive in some respects. Do these wild, uncouth creatures belong to the same race with Moses, Isaiah, Paul, Plato, Cicero and Milton? We open no discussion here upon the question whether the race sprung from a single pair, or whether there were different centres of creation. But how few are the outward marks of identity between these extremes of civilization. Once the man with a bearskin suit, a mud hut, a stone hatchet, a flint knife, a sling with a pouch filled with select pebbles, was a greater man among his fellows, than the millionaire of to-day in State Street and Wall Street. Bonner, with his stable full of fast horses, is no match for the man who first caught a wild puppy and taught him to hunt for his master. If inclined to doubt the capacity of such people for improvement, a brief study of our own ancestry, in the days of Julius Cæsar, will probably cure our skepticism. There is a golden bond running through the race, uniting the lowest and the highest, the earliest and the latest. Though all the surroundings of life change, mind with its essential attributes changes not. The power of observation; the ability to improve by experience, underlies all possible growth.

Mind is the one efficient agent in this wonderful change. Step by step has its long march been accomplished; one by one has it sought out those discoveries that have changed the aspect of the world, and the whole current of civilization. It has changed the log, on which the primitive man crossed the river, to a steamship; his war club to an iron-clad; his bow and arrow to a breech loading rifle; and his sling to a twenty-

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inch cannon. It has changed the path of the savage hunter to a railroad track, and made the glittering thunder-bolt its express messenger. It has yoked the river, and harnessed the mountain torrent to spindles, shuttles, saws, lathes and planes. Hence we hear the din of industry, the hum of a million wheels and the song of the happy artizan, where once were heard only the roar of the cataract and the howl of the wolf. All these are but the footprints of mind along the pathway of our progress.

Growth is the prerogative of mind. The animal, however docile, remains from age to age the same. The beaver cuts his timber, builds his house and dam, just like the first beaver. In all the ages he has never invented even a stone hatchet or a flint knife. It is sometimes said that man is a descendant — or development — of the ape. We admire the modesty that congratulates itself on such a genealogy. By the same rule, the printing-press and telegraph, steamship, and railroads are only "developments" of some antique baubles of the ape family.

Mind is the only creative power in the universe; and it is not easy to imagine what the present condition of the world would be, if the creations of the human mind were stricken from our history. The past two thousand years, retraced in the line of our own ancestry, bring up a civilization not the most inviting; and where two, or six thousand years more would land us, who can tell? He only who prefers barbarism to civilization, can afford to despise the Past. He only who would return upon the track which the race has already trod, rather than move forward to its glorious destiny, can afford to despise the Past and the Present. But he would never find his ideal golden age in the Past. Only a few hundred years ago, in the line of our descent, where was our present Christian culture; our social institutions, literary, moral, religious? Nay; there is only the darkness of the wild nomadic tribes that once infested the forests and marshes of western Europe.

Do we lack faith in the Future? What Future has the Past always brought? Mind, the source of all growth, is still

fresh as at first, with its resources multiplied a thousand-fold, advancing to-day with a rapidity unknown before.

Whence that incomprehensible thing — Mind? and to what destiny appointed? It has left its footprints all along the desert of our human pilgrimage; building ever new and more beautiful monuments to mark its course. To-day it lifts as it were an angel's eye into the wide fields of space, and reads, with trembling awe, the handwriting of God, in the burning suns and rolling worlds that plow the shoreless ocean of light. Why do we tremble at the revelations of that mighty scroll, written in characters of flame? Firmament upon firmament, and system after system, from inconceivable depths, pouring their light upon the bewildered eye, well may we tremble. But to what other eye of earth do the stars unfold their mysteries? What other mortal vision quails under their light? Rejoice, then, O man, in that terror which the unreasoning brute can never feel. And remember, God can no more forget thee, than those worlds of light that swing around his throne. The circling worlds shall sooner forget his mandate, and fly from their fixed orbits, than the divine purpose, touching one human soul, shall fail.

ARTICLE XVIII.

The Crusades.

PART THIRD.

THE first Crusade resulted in the establishment of a Latin kingdom in Palestine. Godfrey de Bouillon was King of Jerusalem.

At this point it will be interesting to dwell upon that spirit of chivalry, which had no little influence upon the Crusades, and to take notice of those orders of ecclesiastical knighthood which subsequently so largely aided in flooding them with romantic glory.

Chivalry was of older growth than the period of the Crusades. But it was revived in the middle ages, and was certainly productive of great moral discipline in the cultivation of the principle of honor. This became the actuating spirit of chivalry, tinging it with a glory time has not effaced, and that even cruelty and wrong have not eclipsed. Doubtless, had chivalry not become intermingled with religious fanaticism, its records would be brighter than they are. Nevertheless, only the religious spirit could have drawn from it so many deeds of heroic daring, and developed so much enthusiastic devotion for so many years to the redemption of the Holy Land.

From time immemorial arms were received at the age of manhood with solemn ceremonies (Tacitus, De Mor. Ger. c. 13). They were assumed by the sons of kings and nobles with regular investiture. This investiture became general. Later, as the feudal system obtained, and tenants had to render military service on horseback, equipped with coats of mail, an order of knighthood gradually assumed settled proportions. The arms of these retainers, their horses, their coats of chain or steel plates, and their solemn investiture, raised them in rank above those who served on foot, and so created the desire to distinguish themselves by feats of prowess. By degrees the feudal obligation gave way, with all who could ignore it, to the desire to immortalize themselves independently, often with no reward save honor, under some renowned Baron or Monarch. Even when pay was received for service rendered, the service itself was considered most honorable, when rendered for love of glory or strength of affection.

In the period of the Crusades this spirit became united with that of monasticism. This led to the creation of orders of spiritual or ecclesiastical knighthood, which succeeded in obtaining a powerful, even a controlling influence during the progress of the Holy Wars. Indeed, their influence did not cease with those wars, but continued into later ages, is in many directions felt to-day, and will be, probably, while their

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deeds shall be remembered. Knighthood reached its pinnacle of fame at this period. It then constituted an order of nobility second to none, rather embracing and towering above all others, enrolling as it did kings, princes, and mighty lords. Before this period, it had assumed no paramount religious form, other than was found in the form of investiture. But at this time it became as really a religious, as a military spirit. Religious enthusiasm became a recognized knightly quality. To redeem Palestine from the "Infidels" was the thought nearest the heart of every true knight, and the defence of God's laws against their rejectors, was his first and perpetual duty. At mass he held his drawn sword with the point before him, as evidence of his readiness to defend the Church and the faith against all the world. The writers of the middle ages compare the knightly with the priestly character, and the investiture of the one was declared analogous to the consecration of the other (Hallam, Mid. Ages. III. c. IX). The candidate spent nights in prayer, usually in some church, attended by the priests. The sacrament was administered to him. The bath was entered. He was clothed with a white robe, as emblematic of the purity of life he was expected to display. His sword was solemnly blessed, and that sword's hilt was fashioned in the shape of a cross, serving as such for the purposes of devotion or for the sealing of an oath.

As knighthood was associated with religion, so was it with gallantry. A knight was bound to defend and respect the gentler sex. How much influence this necessarily exerted upon the elevation of women will be readily perceived. It very materially bettered their condition, and lifted them into a higher and nobler position. This was the result, notwithstanding the licentious spirit which subsequently tarnished the knightly character (with many). We may, in this connection, however, remember that the age, and even the church, was sunk in darkness and vice to a fearful depth. The standard of morals was extremely low. Of course it was easier to fall below, than to rise above it. Many did rise

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above it — and of these not a few were of knightly fame. Indeed, as a rule, valor, loyalty, courtesy, munificence, and virtue, characterized the true and accomplished knight. So popular did knighthood become, and in so great estimation was it held, that its privileges were eagerly sought; and, as every knight had, at first, the authority to knight others, subject to individual responsibility, and restricted to a certain class, it was not long before it was spread over all the world. The illustrious Saladin himself, it is said, sought and obtained knighthood from Richard, the lion-hearted, of England.

Distinct orders of knighthood were constantly instituted. The association of the knightly with the monastic spirit found countenance in the warlike habits of high dignitaries of the Church. The love of arms, which to a greater or less extent, seems ingrained in the human heart, stirred monkish souls, until many gladly exchanged the dull monotony of the cloister for the excitements of the camps — impelled often by a religious zeal for the delivery of the holy places, and often, it must be confessed, from other and baser motives.

Of the orders more immediately the offspring of the Crusades, and having the most influence upon their progress, and that were the most distinguished in connection with them, the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John stand preëminent.

About A. D. 1119 nine knights of Jerusalem constituted themselves an ecclesiastical order of knighthood, under Hugh de Paganus as Grand Master, calling themselves Soldiers of the Temple, or Knights Templars. They obtained the name from the palace adjoining the Temple which Baldwin II., King of Jerusalem, appropriated to their use. St. Bernard spread the fame of this order throughout the West, lauding it as worthier than any others, from its peculiarly religious character and design. The sanction of the Church was secured for it, under a rule for its government drawn by St. Bernard, at the Synod of Troyes, A. D. 1128. The order grew rapidly in numbers, wealth, and renown, and its members sustained their reputation for two hundred years as among the noblest

and bravest knights of the world. Their original duties were to sustain and defend Christianity, by force of arms if necessary. They also had the charge of the public roads leading into Jerusalem, along which they were to protect the pilgrims from the insults or assaults of the Mohammedans. Subsequently their sphere of action was greatly enlarged. How well they performed their duties, how nobly they fought during the Crusades, and how much they suffered, are matters of history. That they at length lost much of their original character as a religious order, may be true; but that they ever ceased to sustain their reputation, as a body, for all the higher qualities of chivalry, has never been proved. After the conquest of Ptolemais these knights withdrew to the West, making Paris their principal head-quarters, where they remained until their cruel and iniquitous suppression in the fourteenth century.

Shortly after the founding of the Templars, the Brethren of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, animated by the example, formed a like military order. This Hospital was instituted in the latter part of the eleventh century, to care for and heal the sick and suffering pilgrims. It soon became immensely wealthy, and its "brethren" conceived that they might give direct aid to the work of subduing the "Infidels." They assumed, therefore, under Raymond du Puy, their leader, the sword and shirt of mail, and offered their services to Baldwin II. At first the order consisted of three degrees or Societies, Knights, Priests, and Brethren or Soldiers. The priestly character was subsequently lost, and the order became purely military, though retaining much of its original ecclesiastical complexion. After the destruction of the Christian hopes in the East, these Knights for a long time held possession of the Island of Rhodes, but were finally driven thence by the Turks. Charles V. then gave them Malta, which they held until the time of Napoleon I. It was a brave, noble, and chivalrous order. Unfortunately, the two bodies were often disgraced by petty jealousies and quarrels between their members.

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Less renowned than either of the preceding, yet not without considerable influence upon the Crusades, was the Teutonic Order of the Virgin Mary. Some merchants of Bremen and Lubeck erected a Hospital for the sick and wounded during the siege of Ptolemais, A. D. 1190. The German princes constituted of these and others an order of knighthood. It was confirmed by Pope Celestine III., two years later. These knights, after leaving Palestine, made themselves masters of Prussia, Livonia, and Semi-Gallia, and aided materially the triumphs of Christianity wherever their arms were carried.

Other orders were formed; but of these it will be unnecessary here to speak. It will be interesting, however, to note that the entire monastic institution of the East partook, at this period, of the warlike spirit. Even the Canons, appointed by Godfrey, King of Jerusalem, to pray about the tomb of the Saviour, clothed themselves with casque and cuirass, as knights of the Holy Sepulchre, and not infrequently distinguished themselves in the conflicts of the age.

From all parts of the Christian world these various bodies were recruited. So celebrated were they, and so honorable, that scarcely an illustrious family in Christendom was without at least one representative in their ranks. The mightiest princes deemed it no derogation to assume either the red cross of St. John, or the white mantle of the Temple. Castles and cities were bestowed upon them, and principalities and kingdoms were frequently the reward of their valor.

Notwithstanding the brilliant promise under which was founded the new Christian empire, the Crusaders were not allowed to rest in peaceable possession of the territories they had acquired. They lived in a continual state of warfare—now victorious over all opposition, and threatening the subjection of all Asia, again discomfitted on every side, with Jerusalem itself in danger. While Godfrey lived, his genius secured stability to the new throne. Unfortunately, he did not live long enough to establish it upon a permanent basis. He died July 11th, A. D. 1100, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, Prince of Edessa, who resigned his princi-

pality to his relative, Baldwin de Bourg. The new King was solemnly crowned in the Church of Bethlehem in Jerusalem. His character, not before the most elevated, rose with his new dignity, and he carried his victorious arms into Egypt. In the third year of his reign he besieged and reduced Acre, one of the most valuable conquests, next to the Holy City, yet made by the Crusaders. Azotus, Beritus, Serepta and Sidon, were also captured, and were converted into Christian lordships. All these new possessions were incorporated with the kingdom of Jerusalem. Meanwhile, the Count of Tholouse subjugated Tortosa, on the coast of Syria. Tripoli, some years after, was reduced by the king, and was, with the surrounding country, erected into a County for the house of Tholouse. Baldwin was not, however, always successful. He was at one time taken prisoner by the Saracens, and long kept in close confinement. At his death, A. D. 1118, he was succeeded by his cousin, Baldwin de Bourg, who was in turn succeeded in his possession of Edessa by Joscelyn de Courtenay, a member of a noble French house.

With Baldwin II. the tide of triumphant success seemed to turn. The principal event in his reign was the subjection of Tyre, which was erected into an Arch-bishopric, under the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Jealousies were rife among the leaders of the Crusades, which, with the infamous policy of the Greeks, and the still vast powers of the Moslems, threatened the most serious consequences. The Palestinian throne, indeed, soon became an almost empty honor. Even in the height of its glory, its feudal force was totally inadequate to its secure protection. The four great fiefs of Jaffa, Galilee, Cæsarea, and Tripoli, with the royal city, and other lordships, could only furnish a force consisting of twenty-five hundred knights, with their mounted men-at-arms, and some twelve thousand archers on foot. During this reign, the safety and extension of the kingdom were chiefly indebted to the orders of ecclesiastical knighthood. Before the death of Baldwin, both Hospitallers and Templars had risen to great power, and the fame of their arms had spread far and wide. They were

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recognized everywhere as the sworn champions of the cross and of the Latin kingdom. Baldwin died A. D. 1131, leaving the throne to Foulques, Count of Anjou, who had married his daughter Melisinda. Foulques ruled some thirteen years, and at his death the state was in the hands of his widow, as regent during the minority of Baldwin III., then only thirteen years of age. At fourteen, however, the young Baldwin was crowned reigning king. But the storm was gathering. Profiting by the loose condition of the state, and the dissensions among the Crusaders, Zenghi, the Turkish Emir of Mosul, suddenly seized upon Edessa, taking the city by assault, and mercilessly slaughtering the inhabitants. So thorough was the conquest in this quarter, that terror was struck to the hearts of the Christians in all parts of the kingdom. The conquerors were so elated, that they turned, in immense force, in the direction of the Capital, then little able to offer adequate resistance.

There was really danger that the whole fabric that had been reared at the expense of so much treasure and blood, would fall to pieces. The capture of Edessa was a fearful blow to the kingdom. Its only hope was in the daring of the Templars and Hospitallers; but their combined forces were utterly insufficient to stem the torrent that threatened destruction. The most they could do, was to ward off, by almost superhuman exertions, the evil day.

Under these circumstances, Western Christendom was again appealed to, and the appeal awakened an enthusiasm little inferior to that which, half a century earlier, led to the first Crusade. Pope Eugene III. commissioned the renowned St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, to preach another Crusade (S. Bern. Ep. 222.), with authority to offer the most tempting indulgences to all who would assume the cross and unsheath the sword. Bernard entered vigorously upon his labors, and by his fiery eloquence soon aroused all ranks and conditions. The Emperor of Germany, Conrad III., and the King of France, Louis VII., entered zealously upon the undertaking. When Louis assembled his nobles at Vezelay, the same enthu-

siasm was manifested as at the Council of Clermont, and from the multitudes the cry went up, "*The Cross, the Cross!* IT IS THE WILL OF GOD!" Louis, with his Queen, Eleanor of Aquitaine, and a large number of nobles and knights, there assumed the sacred symbol, under which, for glory here and hereafter, they were to fight. The conduct and presence of these great monarchs invested the second Crusade with a dignity superior to that which characterized the first. They gathered immense armies. Each was at the head of some seventy thousand mailed cavalry, and three hundred thousand heavy armed infantry. The clergy, unarmed pilgrims, camp followers, women and children, swelled the united forces to nearly a million of souls (according to William of Tyre). The expedition started with every promise of great success. But, alas! the undertaking was destined to prove utterly disastrous. The armies pursued the same routes followed by the first Crusaders. They, therefore, were subjected to the same troubles, and met with the same tortuous Greek policy. Manuel Comnenus, grandson of Alexius, occupied the Byzantine throne, and adopted the same rude policy of his predecessors. Outwardly he was the friend, secretly the enemy, of the Crusaders, and so alternately aided and retarded their progress. Many thousands perished before reaching Constantinople. After leaving that city, and owing to the treachery of the Greeks, they were surprised and scattered by the Moslems. Louis arrived at Antioch with only about one-fourth of his forces, whence he proceeded to Jerusalem. Conrad was not even thus fortunate. He reached the Holy City only as a simple pilgrim, his magnificent army having melted away before the powers of sickness and the ravages of war. Such a force, however, as could be gathered, besieged Damascus, the stronghold of the Turkish power in Syria: but the garrison repulsed the Christians with great loss; and soon after, the Emperor and King, broken in spirit, and bitterly disappointed, returned with the fragments of their chivalry, to Europe, — thus ending, ingloriously, the second Crusade.

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The effects of this battle were most disastrous. Not only did it give Tiberias to the enemy, but also Cæsarea, Acre, Jaffa, and Berytus. Tyre was saved through the courage of the son of the captured Marquis of Montferrat. It could not long have resisted, however, but that Saladin was intent on securing Jerusalem. A siege of fourteen days reduced this city, and insured the slaughter of large numbers of the wretched inhabitants. The Queen and her train were allowed to proceed to Tyre. Jerusalem was once more a Moslem city. Saladin entered in triumph. The Mosque of Omar was reconstructed, and devoted to the worship of Islam. And

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the Crescent took the place of the Cross upon the ramparts of Zion.

Tyre was now the only place of consequence remaining to the Christians. Into this what remained of the Templars, Hospitallers, and other chivalry of Palestine, were gathered, with a great multitude of refugees. It was attacked by the Moslems, but so bravely defended that they were compelled to retire from before its walls. Subsequently, the King of Jerusalem was released from captivity, but not until he had been compelled to renounce his crown in favor of Saladin.

These calamitous events aroused Europe for the third time; and another attempt for the redemption of the Holy Land was determined upon towards the close of the twelfth century. The various princes of the West gave their allegiance to this Crusade, among them the Emperor of Germany, Frederick Barbarossa, with whom were associated his son, the Duke of Suabia, the Dukes of Austria and Moravia, and some sixty other princes and lords of the empire, and fifteen thousand knights, with an army of sixty thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry; Philippe Auguste, King of France, with a noble retinue, and an immense army; and Richard I. (*Cœur de lion*), King of England, the most warlike and chivalrous prince of Europe, with his Barons, the flower of his nobility, and a very large body of troops. While these chiefs were preparing to enter upon the campaign, many of their subjects, at their own expense, pressed towards Palestine, so eager were they to signalize themselves on behalf of the cross. With them were many noblemen and prelates of distinction. These all threw themselves under the command of the unworthy King of Jerusalem, and enabled him, with a force of one hundred thousand men, to besiege Acre. For two years the contest was carried on before this city — the troops on either side being constantly reinforced. Meanwhile the Germans were hastening to the scene of action. On their way they met and defeated the Sultan of Iconium, and compelled him to sue for peace. Shortly after, very unfortunately, the great Frederic died. The Duke of Suabia suc-

ceeded him. He captured Antioch, and then led his forces to Acre. Soon the French King united himself with the troops before this place. And, later, Richard of England arrived. The presence of Richard inspired all with enthusiasm, and the siege was pressed with so much vigor that Saladin was compelled to capitulate. He refused to restore the true cross, but he released a large number of Christian captives, and agreed to pay a large sum of gold to the Crusaders. After the reduction of Acre the King of France withdrew with the greater part of his troops, and returned home. The reason for this step is not known — probably it was his jealousy of his brilliant rival, Richard. He, however, left Richard ten thousand of his best men. After many daring conflicts, not without heavy losses, England's King arrived before the walls of Jerusalem. The city was undoubtedly within his grasp. It ought to have been taken. But, for some cause, never satisfactorily explained (Vide Michaud, His. Crus. I. VIII.), Richard suddenly retired from his position, and subsequently made a truce with Saladin for three years and three months, and then began his homeward journey. There is something very mysterious in the whole conduct of this Crusade. That it might have ended differently cannot be doubted. What was gained was certainly not worth the suffering, expense, and enormous loss of life incurred. Saladin, however, soon after died; and that was perhaps the happiest event of the age to the Christians of Palestine.

A fourth Crusade, at the instigation of the military orders of the Holy Land, was encouraged by Pope Celestine III. This was after the truce made by Richard was ended. The appeal to again take arms met a hearty response from the German Emperor, Henry VI. Great forces, gathered in the Empire, reached Palestine. But the Moslems, however torn by intestine disorders, united against their common enemy, which they had learned to despise, and no permanent successes were achieved for the Latins. On the death of Henry the princes and soldiers were recalled to Europe.

Henry of Champagne was now King of Jerusalem. His

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Pope Innocent III. urged anew the claims of the Eastern Kingdom. France, Germany, Italy and Hungary responded, although the only monarch who assumed the cross was the King of Hungary. Their arms, however, while intended for Palestine, were turned in another direction in a most extraordinary manner, and to most extraordinary results. The Eastern (Greek) Empire was at this time crumbling into ruins. The imbecile Emperor, Isaac Angelus, was seized by his brother Alexius, deprived of his eyes, and immured in a deep dungeon. Alexius assumed the government. The son of the deposed monarch, also called Alexius, only twelve years of age, escaped to Italy, and there heard of the assembling of the Crusaders at Venice. He entreated their aid, and was supported by the Venetians. The Doge of Venice, Dandolo, especially endeavored to interest the Crusaders in behalf of the fugitive prince. They were offered the advantages of a command of the Byzantine resources, and Alexius promised to distribute two hundred thousand marks among them when his father should be reëstablished upon his throne, to submit the Empire to Rome, thus ending the Greek and Latin schism, either to engage personally in the Crusades with the Byzantine troops, or to lend ten thousand men at his own expense for one year, and to maintain five hundred knights during his life for the defence of Jerusalem. These offers and promises were accepted, and the arms of the Crusaders were turned towards Constantinople. When it appeared that the city must fall, A. D. 1203, the usurper Alexius fled, with a portion of the imperial treasures. The nobles of the Empire then drew Isaac Angelus from his prison, and placed him upon his throne. His first imperial act was to send an embassy to the Crusaders, flushed with the certainty of victory, demanding his son, and inviting them to receive his thanks!

The indignant Crusaders demanded a fulfillment of all obligations, to which Isaac very reluctantly yielded, whereupon Alexius entered the city in triumph, and was crowned as joint Emperor with his father. But this condition of affairs was not of long continuance. The fickle Greeks, notwithstanding their obligations, were dissatisfied with the Latin influence, and especially with the supremacy of Rome, and compelled Isaac and his son to fly for their lives. They were overtaken and imprisoned, and the father soon died of a broken heart. Alexius Angelus Ducas, a prince of the blood royal, usurped the crown, and then put the young emperor to death. The Crusaders, deeply enraged, deferred their march towards Palestine, attacked and took Constantinople, and found themselves masters of the Greek Empire. The usurper escaped. The city was sacked, and many works of art, and the invaluable libraries it contained, were destroyed. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, was clothed with the purple, and crowned as Emperor, in the Church of St. Sophia. The Marquis of Montferrat was made King of Macedonia and a part of Greece, and the other Barons became possessors of various Provinces of the Empire in Europe and Asia. Venice obtained the sovereignty of Crete, some of the islands in the Ionian and Ægean seas, and many ports from the capes of the Adriatic to the Bosphorus (Proctor, His. Crus. IV. IV.).

The "regular succession" of the Greek Empire, in the person of Theodore Lascaris, who had married a daughter of Alexius Angelus, retired to Nice, where it was acknowledged. The family of Lascaris was destined, after a lapse of half a century, to return in triumph (Vide Hallam, Mid. Ages. II. IV.).

Thus the troops, destined to relieve the distresses of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, possessing themselves of the lands and wealth of the Greeks, forgot the mission on which they had entered, and Palestine still groaned under the triumphs and outrages of the Moslems.

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Article XIX.

Gamaliel Bailey.

No name connected with the anti-slavery movement in this country, will be permanently associated with that movement unless it shall be that of one who was a leader in some necessary work of preparation, or an exponent of some special truth or idea, or the organizer of some timely and practical method, relating thereto, and indispensable to its success.

John Quincy Adams and Joshua R. Giddings did special and necessary pioneer work as champions of free discussion and the right of petition. Garrison, Sumner and Mrs. Stowe illustrated the essential barbarism of slavery. Fessenden and Chase demonstrated the power and duty of Congress to forbid its extension. Seward and Greeley (divided, as they have been, during these later years, in opinion and action) were apostles of the equal and indestructible rights of men. But ably and successfully as these men (and others who acted with them) labored in their respective fields, a work more difficult, if not more important, than theirs, remained to be accomplished — the practical work, the work of organization. It was necessary that the people who had been convinced of the wrong and danger of slavery, acting as they were in different political parties, to which they were strongly wedded, should be taken out of these organizations and brought together in a new one founded upon opposition to slavery.

The man who was to do this work, who was to combine and organize the scattered forces of anti-slavery opinion; in other words, *the immediate founder of the Republican party*, was Dr. Bailey.

While Dr. Bailey was a philanthropist and doctrinaire, and an earnest anti-slavery man, he was, also, and eminently, a wise and sagacious statesman; and it was in the rare combination of all these characters that his great influence was founded. He came to see earlier than most anti-slavery men

the necessity and duty of being *practical.* He cared little for parties or party names, but he labored earnestly and intelligently for results. And the most valuable work of his life was that in which he sought to organize a movement in which the entire anti-slavery feeling of the country should be absorbed, and through which it should act. He knew that this feeling existed to a large extent among the adherents of the two great parties which divided the country, but he saw that its power was well-nigh lost so long as the anti-slavery members of those parties were content to remain in, and act with, them. Neither of them was founded, in any degree, upon the anti-slavery idea: indeed, articulate opinion in agreement with that idea, was branded by them as sectional, unhealthy, dangerous. Both parties aimed to be what was called *national;* and if Northern men endeavored to make the party to which they belonged to any extent anti-slavery, they were charged with attempting to make it anti-national; — it might be anti-Northern and yet national, but it could not be national and anti-Southern! In fine, the slave-holders furnished the principles, and controlled the policy, of both parties. So far was this thing carried, that under Mr. Fillmore's administration no Northern Whig who was unwilling to submit to the Southern opinion and dictation on the slavery question, was regarded as of good standing in his party; and in the democratic party, anti-slavery men fared much in the same way. Within a month of the close of Mr. Fillmore's administration, Ex-Governor Davis of Massachusetts, a veteran Whig, and one of the ablest and most respected members of his party, said that he had felt more like a stranger at the White House since its occupancy by Mr. Fillmore, than he had in the time of the democratic administration of Mr. Polk.

It was during the administration of Mr. Fillmore — in December, 1851 — that the writer became acquainted with Dr. Bailey; and he was very soon impressed with the earnestness of that gentleman's conviction that his special and great work was to build up, from existing parties, a truly national organization based on dislike of slavery and opposition to its

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extension. Until this should be accomplished he saw clearly that no effective resistance could be made to the progress of this system. Other journalists and politicians were fighting slavery. Dr. Bailey fought it, too, but he did more, — he told men how, and how only, they could fight it successfully. He would have supported, in 1852, the nomination of Gen. Scott, but for the Tennessee platform upon which the General was placed. He would have done this not merely that he preferred Scott to the democratic candidate, but for the purpose of getting the anti-slavery Whigs who were opposed to Webster and Fillmore in the way of acting with other anti-slavery men against the pro-slavery Whigs. In 1854 he strove incessantly to bring members of different parties to act together in opposition to the Nebraska iniquity. It was this shameless measure — carried by a union of Southern Whigs and Democrats and Northern Doughfaces — that forced the conviction upon all minds in which hatred of slavery had obtained a lodgment, of the truth which Dr. Bailey had so long and faithfully enforced. And when, a few hours subsequent to the passage, by the House of Representatives, of the bill by which the Missouri compromise was repealed and slavery was permitted to pass beyond its ancient limits, at a meeting of some thirty members of the House, including anti-Nebraska Whigs and Democrats and "Free-soil" party men, at the rooms of the Hon. Thomas D. Eliot (who represented then, as he has for so many years since, with eminent ability and unswerving fidelity, the New Bedford district in Massachusetts), to take counsel concerning their duty in the existing condition of things, a member urged the necessity of an immediate union of all anti-Nebraska men, and the organization of a new party (to be called, he suggested, the *Republican* party), in which *all men who thought alike* — on the vital question of the time, that of slavery extension, — *should act together*; and when his proposition that such a union should be effected, was, all but, unanimously adopted, there was no one present who did not feel that the meeting was only carrying out the policy of which Dr. Bailey had been the earliest, the ablest

and the most influential advocate. From this time forth he continued to enforce with, if possible, increased zeal and energy, his great idea that anti-slavery men must be united in one political party. He labored assiduously to effect the formation of Republican parties in the several States; and when they had been formed in many, and the time was approaching for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President, he matured the plan, and arranged the preliminaries, for the organization of the National Republican Party. The original draft, by Dr. Bailey, of the call for the first Convention of the Republicans of the United States — the Convention at which the National party was organized — is in the writer's possession, and reads as follows:

"*To the Republicans of the United States:*

In accordance with what appears to be the general desire of the Republicans throughout the country, and with repeated suggestions of the Republican press, we, the undersigned, Chairmen of the Republican State Committees of Maine, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Wisconsin, hereby invite the adherents of the Republican movement to meet in Mass Convention at Pittsburg, Pa., on the 22d of February, 1856, for the purpose of organizing the National Republican Party, and maturing arrangements for the nomination, at some subsequent day, by a Delegate Convention, of candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency."

This Convention was held at the time and place named in the foregoing call, and the Republican party became an established fact — a vast and beneficent power, destined to accomplish, within a few years from its organization, the utter destruction of slavery within the United States.

Under the former methods of opposing slavery within the old parties, controlled as they were by pro-slavery influences, no advance had been made. On the contrary, Freedom had been losing ground, from year to year, until at last it became a question whether she had any ground to stand on, — even in the States of the North. It was to Dr. Bailey, more than

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to any other man, that the country was indebted for the simple but valuable instruction, how Slavery could be checked and Freedom saved. The memory of this wise and good man should be enshrined in the hearts of all Republicans. Congress should erect his monument in the Capitol.

Article XX.

Inspiration of the Scriptures.

There are three theories concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures, which will claim our attention in this paper. First, that the Scriptures are plenarily and verbally inspired; second, that they are inspired only by the genius and natural abilities of their respective authors; and third, that they are divinely and specially inspired to the extent of the spiritual truth they contain, and no farther. By plenary inspiration is meant that all portions and subjects within the sacred canon are equally and fully inspired of God, and therefore infallibly true, and binding upon the faith and conscience of man. By verbal inspiration is meant that the dictation and choice of the Holy Spirit extended to the very words, letters and sentences in which the Bible is written.

This doctrine of inspiration, while apparently abandoned or suffered to sleep for a time, is being revived and advocated with new vigor, by the more conservative theologians of the evangelical church. Thus, Rev. E. N. Kirk, D. D., of Boston, gives it his sanction by his translation and introduction of the work of Gaussen on this subject. Rev. G. Haven, D. D., of *Zion's Herald*, in a notice of Dr. Curtis' "Human Element of the Scriptures," says, "Biblical science can only grow where the Bible is acknowledged as the sole, complete and perfect thought, word and letter of God." A writer in the *North British Review* says, "We give in our cordial adhesion, and count it no shame, but a signal felicity and honor,

with the evidence which lies before us, to hold up our every-day Bible, beginning with Genesis, and ending with Revelations, as the genuine and infallible word of God."

But one of the ablest and most candid statements and defences of this theory is found in "God's Word Written," by the Rev. Edward Garbett, M. A., and recently republished in this country by the American Tract Society. The author claims that the whole Scriptures are the word of God, and that an equal authority extends to every part thereof.

He admits of a human element in the composition of the Bible, in the sense of an employed agent of the Author. All variety of style and mode of thought in the different writers is adopted, and so far, under the guidance of a higher Power, as to express precisely what he willed. The Bible is a unit, both in design and completeness. "The parts, and the whole composed of them, must correspond. Whatever authority over human belief is claimed, and assigned to one portion of Scripture, is equally claimed, and must be equally assigned to all. If the Scriptures are the word of God, it follows that the whole Scriptures are the word of God."[1] The attention and care of the Holy Spirit extends to every part of the Bible, the same as the mind and direction of the architect extends to every part of the building, including not only the idea and general effect, but all the subordinate and minute parts of the whole.

Such a position involves verbal inspiration as a matter of necessity. If a single word should be wrongly chosen, the chain of truth from God to man might be fatally weakened. Hence, the author follows his premise to its logical conclusion, and says, "By ascribing the words of Scripture to a divine inspiration, I only carry to its inevitable conclusion, the principle that every part of Scripture is equally human, and every part equally divine." God endowed the man with particular gifts, chose him to be his instrument, guided his mind in the selection of what he should say, and supplied the material of his writing, where such revelation was necessary,

[1] Garbett, pp. 88—90.

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Article XX.

Inspiration of the Scriptures.

There are three theories concerning the inspiration of the Scriptures, which will claim our attention in this paper. First, that the Scriptures are plenarily and verbally inspired; second, that they are inspired only by the genius and natural abilities of their respective authors; and third, that they are divinely and specially inspired to the extent of the spiritual truth they contain, and no farther. By plenary inspiration is meant that all portions and subjects within the sacred canon are equally and fully inspired of God, and therefore infallibly true, and binding upon the faith and conscience of man. By verbal inspiration is meant that the dictation and choice of the Holy Spirit extended to the very words, letters and sentences in which the Bible is written.

This doctrine of inspiration, while apparently abandoned or suffered to sleep for a time, is being revived and advocated with new vigor, by the more conservative theologians of the evangelical church. Thus, Rev. E. N. Kirk, D. D., of Boston, gives it his sanction by his translation and introduction of the work of Gaussen on this subject. Rev. G. Haven, D. D., of *Zion's Herald*, in a notice of Dr. Curtis' "Human Element of the Scriptures," says, "Biblical science can only grow where the Bible is acknowledged as the sole, complete and perfect thought, word and letter of God." A writer in the *North British Review* says, "We give in our cordial adhesion, and count it no shame, but a signal felicity and honor,

with the evidence which lies before us, to hold up our every-day Bible, beginning with Genesis, and ending with Revelations, as the genuine and infallible word of God."

But one of the ablest and most candid statements and defences of this theory is found in "God's Word Written," by the Rev. Edward Garbett, M. A., and recently republished in this country by the American Tract Society. The author claims that the whole Scriptures are the word of God, and that an equal authority extends to every part thereof.

He admits of a human element in the composition of the Bible, in the sense of an employed agent of the Author. All variety of style and mode of thought in the different writers is adopted, and so far, under the guidance of a higher Power, as to express precisely what he willed. The Bible is a unit, both in design and completeness. "The parts, and the whole composed of them, must correspond. Whatever authority over human belief is claimed, and assigned to one portion of Scripture, is equally claimed, and must be equally assigned to all. If the Scriptures are the word of God, it follows that the whole Scriptures are the word of God."[1] The attention and care of the Holy Spirit extends to every part of the Bible, the same as the mind and direction of the architect extends to every part of the building, including not only the idea and general effect, but all the subordinate and minute parts of the whole.

Such a position involves verbal inspiration as a matter of necessity. If a single word should be wrongly chosen, the chain of truth from God to man might be fatally weakened. Hence, the author follows his premise to its logical conclusion, and says, "By ascribing the words of Scripture to a divine inspiration, I only carry to its inevitable conclusion, the principle that every part of Scripture is equally human, and every part equally divine." God endowed the man with particular gifts, chose him to be his instrument, guided his mind in the selection of what he should say, and supplied the material of his writing, where such revelation was necessary,

[1] Garbett, pp. 88—90.

directing the intellect and heart of the writer in the act of committing the words to writing, "not only bestowing a more than human elevation, but securing the truthfulness of the thing written, and moulding the language into the form accordant with his own will." [2]

This theory is maintained and thus strongly stated, to meet the cavils of scepticism, and that supposed decline of authority which arises from the admission of a single verbal error in the Scriptures. By making the divine armor complete, and throwing over the whole the impregnable shield of infallibility, it is supposed that the darts of reason and wickedness will find no possible entrance. But it is precisely this sweeping claim that leads to scepticism, and the rejection of the Scriptures, as containing the word of God in any sense. If the Bible contains a divine revelation for the good of mankind, the presumption is that it must be in perfect harmony with the reason and moral sense of man, and either so far above, or so perfectly in unison with, the laws of Nature and the progress of knowledge, as to conflict with neither. The idea that the Book is an entire miracle, every part and letter of it dictated by God, that the human instruments of its production become the "pens and not the penmen of the Holy Spirit," cannot be maintained without doing violence to all our conceptions of the divine manifestations, as well as to the claims and actual contents of the Bible itself.

Still it would seem to be a work of supererogation, in this age of Biblical study and learned research, to refute, for the hundredth time, the position and arguments of these prominent learned men of the conservative school of theology, did not their opinions influence and hold the belief of so large a part of the Christian world. There is still so much popular ignorance of the contents of the Bible, and so much superstitious awe at its name, that its traditional expounders find credence, in spite of an open and direct antagonism with many of the facts of science and the results of critical discovery. Many learned men, and not a few intelligent readers of the

[2] pp. 291—2.

Scriptures, and works concerning them, regard the church with contempt, and are driven off from all religious association, because they cannot accept a theory of inspiration at war with reason and knowledge. As Dr. Curtis admits, "Such claims can only make infidels of many thinking men, and fanatics of the unthinking."

Now, what are the arguments used in support of this theory? It is assumed that the entire Bible is the word of God, sure and infallible, and that it makes this claim for itself. If so, what writer, or holy man, was so inspired, and makes the statement? There are authors who claim for the time that they are speaking the word of the Lord, but do any of them claim that all they, and their fellow prophets and apostles, have said, is thus authorized of the Lord? It is well known that the Scriptures were composed and compiled by different persons, in different ages, made up of separate books, occupying some fifteen hundred years from their commencement to their completion. And at no time during their growth could it be said by any writer therein, that *all* Scripture is inspired of God, except at the very close of the last book of the volume. The writers claimed, at times, that the truths, doctrines and messages they were communicating were not their own, but given them of God; and where the messages relate to religious and spiritual things, no believer in inspiration is disposed to raise any dispute. A "thus saith the Lord," in the communication of spiritual truth, is the end of controversy, if we allow any inspired authority to the Bible at all. But there are many books in the Old Testament whose authorship is unknown, and whose contents are made up of history, poetry, tradition, and such statements of scientific knowledge as were currently believed to be true in those times. Mixed in with beautiful moral lessons and brilliant rays of religious truth of a divine order, are found statements of science, physiology and history, since known to be incorrect. Not that the writers were reckless, or purposely deceptive; on the contrary, we believe they were sincere and honest, expressing precisely what they believed to be true.

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And in a temporary relative sense, the statements are true, a faithful reflection of the knowledge of their age and degree of attainment. Their allusions to Geology, Geography, and Astronomy, were the acknowledged truths of their day, just as much as the writings of modern authors upon these subjects are now true. But in neither case are we sure of the absolute truth, and look to neither as infallible. The Bible was not written to deceive, it bears the marks of an honest sincerity; but it must be confessed that its writers, when they touch upon matters outside of spiritual truth, showed no superiority in inspiration or intelligence to profane authors. It was not their intellectual, but their spiritual faculties, that were quickened by the Holy Spirit. They were not sent to help man in any domain or sphere where his natural endowments could be made to serve his purpose. God never helps directly, where he has provided the faculties for self help. He solves no problems within the compass of reason and culture. To inspire men upon matters of science, history, and discovery, would destroy his motives to study and make improvement. He may have endowed some men with larger genius and talent for these departments of truth, but genius and talent are different from inspiration. They are dependent for their success upon study and application, and never rise with that degree of insight and foresight that is found in the words of Paul and Jesus. There are statements in the Bible respecting matters of science which cannot be harmonized with facts. There is scarcely a single eminent living geologist who believes the account of the creation, in the first chapter of Genesis, to be in harmony with the revelations of science, found in the crust of the earth. There may be some incidental points of agreement, but the proof is by no means clear, that the author of Genesis had any knowledge of the slow, gradual formation of the globe, as the habitation of man, covering such vast epochs of time. His inspiration extended only to the fact of a creative cause; but the process, and the length of time, were left to be found out by the examination of the earth itself. God left his "footprints," the marks of

his fingers, upon his works, but gave to the writer of Genesis no special illumination as to the time and order of his creative action. The six days mentioned by Moses find no corresponding type in the rocky record, only by a forced interpretation. There are no six marked, distinctive periods in geologic action, corresponding to the same number of days, and the work assigned, in the letter of Genesis. In the creation of light, of the firmament, of the sun, moon and stars, the account is according to appearance, rather than scientific. The author undoubtedly believed that the whole solar system, so far as he comprehended it, was created in six literal days, not of long, indefinite periods, but of twenty-four hours each; and he makes use of this supposed fact, as a sanction for the observance of the Jewish Sabbath. In giving the law to the Hebrews, the author says, "For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day." The account in Genesis is the same — "He rested on the seventh day from all his work which he had made."[8] This is the sanction of the Jewish Sabbath. On the supposition that we are now living in the seventh geologic day, science, as well as Scripture, contradicts the statement that God is resting. Jesus says, "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work." God is at work now in the world of nature, as actively as ever. The earth is changing continually, and geologic action has never ceased. There never has been any long period of rest on the part of the creative and governing power of the universe. The inspiration of the scientific part of Genesis cannot be maintained. The facts prove to the contrary, and as the theologian has yielded to the facts of Geography, Astronomy, and Physiology, so he must to the teachings of Geology. The progress of knowledge has led the careful student of the Bible to the conclusion that holy men of old were not inspired upon themes within the sphere of human reason and research. The errors of judgment, fact and science they recorded, were the prevalent opinions of their time, but formed no part of

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their inspiration. The human element and framework of the religious truth they gave, covers a wide range, and admits of all the defects discovered, without destroying or marring the divine element of the Scriptures. When we discriminate between the two, and judge of each by its own standard and claims, neither reason nor spirituality is offended; but to say that the Bible is all divine, that every sentence, word and letter is the "genuine and infallible word of God," is not only offensive to common sense, but a libel on the Bible itself.

In the historical portion of the Scriptures, this fallible human element prevails quite as conspicuously as in its scientific. The history may be true; the men spoken of may have said and done the things recorded of them; but the question is whether the Biblical narrative does not rest upon the same basis of fact and authority as any other ancient record? Was any inspiration necessary to record what took place in those times? We can believe that Samuel was divinely directed to select and anoint Saul and David as kings of Israel; but we cannot, nor are we called upon to believe that God inspired Saul's madness, his violence, his jealousy of David, his rash and fatal battles, his murder of all the priests of God, and massacre of all the inhabitants of the city of Nob, his consultation of the powers of darkness. Nor can we believe that God inspired David's sins of murder, adultery, polygamy, his cruelty and cursings of his enemies, his numbering of the children of Israel, his hanging of the seven sons of Saul, after he had sworn not to cut off his seed, his flight, and his weakness over the treason of Absalom. These events are not inconsistent with his age, nor improbable in themselves. Other kings did the same. He was a man and a ruler, like unto them. Still, as one chosen of Providence, a man after God's own heart, in his youthful purity and tenderness of character, there were times when the Spirit of God rested upon him, and breathed forth in prayer and lofty psalm, in higher and diviner strains than can be found in Homer or Milton. The divine element shines forth clear and bright, above, and in spite of, the coarser element of chronicle and comment, transgression and folly.

Solomon's vanity and song of licentiousness are not on the same spiritual level with his prayer of dedication and his wisdom. The most learned critics pronounce the book of Job a dramatic poem, reflecting the faith, learning, customs, religion, and mode of life, in that remote age, and among the nomadic tribes of the East. There is no evidence that any part of it is divinely inspired; yet it is counted among the sacred books of the canon. In its true character it is exceedingly beautiful and valuable. But admitting that it is a part of the word of God, still there are whole chapters in it that are uninspired, for God himself says of one of Job's friends, "My wrath is kindled against thee, and against thy two friends, for ye have not spoken of me the thing that is right." And Job himself is made to admit that he "had uttered that he understood not, things too wonderful for him, which he knew not." On either hypothesis, the theory of *plenary* inspiration is refuted by the record itself.

Any one who will examine the Bible as he would any other book, will see the necessity of abandoning all such sweeping claims, and learn to discriminate between the divinely inspired truths, and those parts which are simply the record of the thought and work of men. These two elements are apparent, and necessary. They are sometimes separate, and sometimes combined; but are never so related as to render the Bible all human and all divine as a whole, as is claimed by the advocates of plenary and verbal inspiration. We are making no concessions to infidelity, when we make this discrimination, and admit the human, fallible element of the Scriptures. The Christian church and religion are not dependent upon a claim and belief in the Scriptures at variance with reason and nature. God's word cannot contradict any of his laws and works. He is as true in the book of nature as in that of revelation. The Scriptures were given and preserved, to supply a want which man himself could not furnish. They contain a revelation of the divine character, government and will, not found elsewhere. They are authority on all matters of spiritual and supernatural knowledge. Man will never outgrow

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The main argument relied upon to prove verbal inspiration, is that the entire meaning of certain passages of Scripture hinges upon the choice and use of a single important word. As for instance, where Christ quotes the words which represent God as saying "I am not the God of the dead, but of the living." Here the force of the argument used by the Saviour depends upon the employment of a single word. We admit this, but contend that this requirement is not peculiar to inspired logic and argument. Language that contains and conveys any important truth, requires equal accuracy and precision. Mathematics could not be taught without this rule, nor could natural philosophy, history, and civil law be written without it. There is no reason why a Prophet or an Apostle should not use good rhetoric, and be correct in his quotations and facts. A truth of God breathed through the soul, would as naturally seek accurate language in its expression, as one coming through the perceptions of the intellect. In either case, the accuracy of expression depends upon the judgment and culture of the writer and speaker. The few discrepancies and omissions of the Gospels, easily accounted for on rational principles, do not disprove nor weaken the authority of their divinely inspired truths. It is the Gospels, the good news of God, that are inspired, and not the record of their reproduction. It is what Jesus said, did, and lived, that constitutes the divine message, and is important to us. If the Evangelists altogether, from their memories and observation, give us anything of an accurate outline of these, they have served both God and man to the extent that was required of them. The divine element of the Scriptures vindicates its claims to recognition and acceptance, by its character, tone and purpose. It is not dependent upon a miraculous setting, but the truth contained in earthen vessels is preserved and cherished by its precious value to the spiritual and moral interests of mankind.

II. But still these objections to the acceptance of the Bible as "the perfect thought, word and letter of God," do not destroy the possibility nor the fact of a divine inspiration, as contained in the Bible. The human element, with all its errors, does not crowd out nor mar the divine. The imperfection of the instrument does not impeach the power that uses it, nor, in this case, impair its usefulness. The Scriptures, as they are, touch humanity more closely and tenderly than they could as the perfect, infallible Word. The truth revealed through human experience and limitation is more powerful and effective than if spoken distinctly from the heavens, or given mechanically.

Criticism may follow its own law, and do what it pleases with the human element of inspiration, the errors of judgment, science, and limited knowledge of the writers of the Bible, but it has no right to eliminate the divine element by denying all special divine inspiration whatever. The prevalent infidelity has grown up, in reaction from the extreme doctrines of conservative evangelical theology. Rationalism, provoked by such unwarrantable claims, shoots into the opposite extreme, and treats the Bible as only a record of man's religious experience; its miracles, visions and prophecies, the result of fanatical enthusiasm. They admit that some of the writers possessed what may be called religious genius, and rose at times into a more than ordinary elevation of poetic and spiritual insight. Jesus and Paul were richly endowed with spiritual gifts, and by their faithful use of them, became the accepted leaders and teachers of the church. Moses was great as a leader and lawgiver, David as a statesman and warrior, Isaiah as a poet. These are the lofty spirits of their respective ages, the ripest fruits of their times and opportunities. They were inspired, but only in a natural way, as Plato, Seneca and Mohammed were inspired.

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believe all the pure, wise and mighty in soul to be inspired, for the instruction, advancement and elevation of mankind." [4]

This is a candid, fair statement of the theory of natural inspiration, classing the great lights of the Bible and of the world in the same category, and making no distinction as to origin, between spiritual and scientific truth, claiming that all truth is equally divine and equally human, dependent upon the same natural laws, and means of discovery. Thus Theodore Parker says,

"Inspiration is the consequence of a faithful use of our faculties. Each man is its subject; God its source; truth its only test. Men may call it miraculous, but nothing is more natural. It is co-extensive with the faithful use of man's natural powers. It is limited to no sect, age or nation. It is as wide as the world, and common as God. It is not given to a few men in the infancy of the world, to monopolize inspiration, and bar God out of the world." [5]

This doctrine identifies inspiration with common intelligence, culture and faithful application, reducing all parts of the Scriptures to the level of human capacity and authorship. All knowledge, all unfolding of truth, is inspiration, differing only in kind and degree, and all comes from the faithful use of our faculties.

Such a theory and statement throws out inspiration, in the common acceptation of the term, altogether, and reduces the Bible to a superstitious, deceptive pretension. It convicts Moses, Jesus and Paul, not only of fanaticism, but of dishonesty and rank deception, as devoid of veracity as of authority. It sweeps away their moral characters, with their claims to peculiar wisdom and light from above. They are not the "divinest men of the race," if they undertook to impose a religion upon mankind under false pretences. In their own minds, the result would not justify the means, for they all forbid the "doing of evil that good may come." But every devout student of the Scriptures knows that there are truths

[4] Greg as quoted in *North American Review*, 1852.
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therein, which come from a higher source than the genius and subjective powers of man; truths that are higher than human culture and discovery. The faithful use of man's faculties did not find out God, the law of righteousness, nor the secret of salvation. The world by wisdom knew not God, nor could it find out his perfections by searching. Men in all ages "have cried out for the living God," and inquired "who will show us any good?" The only true answer to these cries is given by God himself, through the souls of holy and devout men, who spake as they were moved by the Spirit. Grecian philosophy and faith terminated in the Unknown God, where all human philosophy and speculation terminate. But man is not satisfied with this, nor could the world be saved by it. Hence, by his own grace, the Unknown, whom men ignorantly worship, is made known by his Spirit in the mouth and wisdom of his chosen Prophets and Apostles, and by his image in his Son. Does not this meet the facts of the case? If not, how happens it that the little province of Judea should have been endowed with so much religious genius, faith and conscience, while all the rest of the world was bowing down to dumb idols, and sunk in vice and spiritual ignorance? How came the decalogue, the Sabbath, Monotheism, human brotherhood, love, and chastity, to be the basis and substance of the faith and religion of the Hebrews, while their equally intellectual neighbors worshipped cats, alligators, marble images, teaching that man's chief good was to "eat, drink, and be merry?" It is singular that only a few Hebrews should have been blessed with that religious genius and faithful use of their faculties, which lifted them into such lofty preëminence. How can this spiritual chasm be spanned upon natural principles? Why should Egypt, India and Greece lie under an eclipse, till the wall of separation was removed, and they were called, by the God of nations, to come under the covenant of a new and broader dispensation? Naturalism hardly accounts for the difference.

III. In giving our reasons for repudiating the theories of plenary and naturalistic inspiration, we may have sufficiently

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indicated what we hold as the true theory given in the Bible itself. We have seen that it is neither "God's word written," every chapter and verse of it divinely inspired, and of equal authority; nor a book made up of religious legends, and priestly invention of no authority. The true theory lies between these extremes, and accepts the Scriptures as containing an inspired revelation from God to man, attested by its character, its necessity, and its practical results. The divine element is a revelation of spiritual truth, given through holy men by inspiration. God reveals himself in Nature, and in the Scriptures; but in the one case through the intellectual, and in the other through the spiritual or intuitional perceptions. The revelation is not the inspiration; but it is through inspiration that we get the revelation of God's character, will and purposes. Saint Paul defines inspiration in its active process as the speech of holy men as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. God breathed the truth into their conscious knowledge, and moved them to utter it; and what they said and wrote, when under this influence, is the inspired truth of the Bible. The same definition is philosophically stated by Morell, thus: "Inspiration is a higher form of potency of a certain form of consciousness, which every man, to some degree, possesses. The supernatural element consists in the extraordinary influence to create these lofty intuitions, to bring the mind of the subject into a perfect harmony with truth, when under ordinary circumstances such a state could not possibly have been enjoyed." [6] Both these definitions imply that God reveals his truth through the conscious spiritual faculties of man, by raising them into a higher moral perception and activity than ordinarily enjoyed. They were not always in this elevated state of communion with God, but sometimes spoke and acted from their own thought and judgment. But when higher truth and direction were needed to advance the race, and strengthen the Church, the Holy Spirit gave them the message, and moved them to utter it, in the name of God.

[6] Philosophy of Religion, p. 159.

By the possession of similar powers of consciousness, but in a less degree of potency, we can spiritually recognize and discern what comes from God to the soul of man. We have within us a "verifying faculty," by which we may know the divine element from the human in the Scriptures. "Jesus said, My doctrine is not mine, but His that sent me. If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." [7] The sheep know the voice of the Shepherd; and man, created in the image of God, is able to distinguish the voice and truth of his Father. He can judge of himself what is right, and try the spirits whether they are of God or not. Of course, culture improves this power of spiritual discernment; but even in the uncultured there is the faculty of recognition, which may be quickened into life by the light of grace and truth. The truth of God is compared to hidden treasures, or a lost pearl of great value, which man is to search for, and find. He knows the treasure and the pearl when found. The searching sharpens and improves his faculties. The literalist opens the Scriptures and expects to find every word a treasure, and every letter a pearl; but the divine, precious truth is more like the fine gold, mingled with alloy and coarser metals, necessary to hold and preserve the more valuable substance, but no part of the same. It is not the word and letter, but the spirit and thought they contain, that he wishes to find. Spiritual discernment is a faculty common to all, but enjoyed in proportion to the degree of culture bestowed upon it. Through this, God's word of truth is made known unto us.

It is not necessary to attempt to indicate what parts of the Scriptures are human and what parts are divine. They are sometimes closely combined. It is sufficient to indicate the general principle by which they may be known. What is the inspired element in the Epistles of Paul? Not his logic, his learning, his philosophy, his knowledge of literature, history, and the customs and manners of his age, for all these he possessed before he was called to be an Apostle. But his inspi-

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And the Gospels likewise — their inspiration consists not in what the writers say of themselves, of Jesus, his journeyings, places of abode, his outward life; but of the truth and doctrines which Jesus taught and lived. The inspiration is found in the Gospel itself, the good news of God which it contains, and reveals to men. As Dr. Curtis says, "A distinction should therefore be made, in reading the books of the Bible, between those truths the particular writer seems to have been inspired with, and specially designed to teach, and those opinions, religious as well as secular, which the writer expresses incidentally, as arising from his age, country or condition. We can distinguish between the truth which his own mind was specially excited to perceive, and to express, and his expression of it; which latter, owing to the human

element, will ever be more or less imperfect." [8] This is sufficiently plain for all practical purposes; but to show how far even evangelical writers have ventured in this direction, we quote the following from "Liber Librorum," an English work recently republished in this country. Its candid, truthful liberality is more than an offset to the conservatism and assumption of Garbett and Gaussen. The author says, "Under the head, then, of inspired Scripture, may be classed all that we are told of God, beyond what may be gathered from his works and providential government of the world; all the information we have as to our future destiny; every prophetic intimation; every elevating, purifying truth which man could not otherwise reach. From it may be excluded, without irreverence, the merely historical, however true and useful; genealogies, however important in their place; poems or proverbs, however wise, which are but expressions of human experience; references to physical phenomena, ordinarily expressed in colloquial language; and all acts or utterances which are not in accordance with the spirit and temper of the Lord Jesus." [9]

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Article XXI.

The Rich Man and the Beggar.

In Luke xvi. 19–31, we read of a certain rich man and of a beggar. It is proposed, in this paper, to show what these two personages represented.

They may be *made* to represent any person, class or cause which is in prosperity, in contrast with any person, class or cause in adversity; and the exchange of these conditions.

The rich man may be *made* to represent any one who is materially, intellectually, morally or religiously rich, but who is to become poor. And the beggar may be *made* to represent any one who, in either of these respects, is poor, but is to become rich.

So of a class or race. The rich man may be *made* to represent slaveholders, and the poor man slaves that are to be emancipated, educated, elevated, blest.

And so of a cause. Every wrong has its day of prosperity, and every reform its day of adversity; but at last these conditions are exchanged. The rich man may be *made* to represent the wrong, and the beggar the reform.

Or, by such as believe the spirit world will be a scene of suffering for those who have enjoyed great comfort in this world, and a home of the highest happiness for those who have experienced the opposite here, the rich man may be *made* to represent the one class, and the beggar the other.

But all these possible interpretations seem to us forced or fanciful, and so we come to the important question, What *did*

these persons represent when introduced by Jesus into this remarkable parable? The answer to this may be found in the incident that called forth the parable. If anything appeared in this to suggest a contrast between the conditions of this and of the spirit world, we might imagine these persons introduced to represent it; but we have looked in vain for this. Or, failing to find, which we do not, in the contrasts and changes of this life, that which these persons could fairly represent, we might still suspect that Jesus intended to represent by them something of the future life. Or, if it appeared, as it has to many, that the relative positions of the Jews and of the Gentiles were suggested to Jesus, we might suspect that, in the rich man and the beggar, he represented these; but we fail to see this also.

The incident which suggested the parable exhibiting these characters is recorded as follows:

"Then drew near unto him all the publicans and sinners for to hear him. And the Pharisees and scribes murmured, saying, This man receiveth sinners, and eateth with them."

Let it be observed that it was not exclusively the Gentiles, but those who by some were called sinners, a class doubtless embracing both Jews and Gentiles, who drew near to hear him. These gave him a hearing, and, from the fact that he ate with them, we may fairly infer that some of them gave him hospitality, thus showing a degree of friendship for him and his cause.

This prompted the complaint of certain Jewish leaders — representatives of the Jewish state and system of religion. So on the one side we see the Jewish, and, on the other, not the Gentile religion nor any branch of it, but a new religion — the Christian. These are rivals; the one a candidate for continued favor, the other for the favor of new friends.

Incidentally conflict has come between the priests, representing the old, and Jesus and his friends, representing the new. To reproach Christ, and through him his cause, his friends are called, not Gentiles, but "sinners."

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Incidentally conflict has come between the priests, representing the old, and Jesus and his friends, representing the new. To reproach Christ, and through him his cause, his friends are called, not Gentiles, but "sinners."

That there had always been conflict between the Jews and the Gentiles, and that Jesus elsewhere recognized the difference between them, is not forgotten; but nothing of this appears here, nothing but what we have above stated.

This issue Christ directly meets. In the parables of the lost sheep, the lost piece of silver, and the prodigal son, he says substantially: Grant that these, my friends, and the friends of my cause, have been sinners; ought we not to rejoice that they have turned from their sinful ways? Or, if they are still "sinners," ought we not, if possible, to save rather than reproach and abandon them?

Then, in the parable of the unjust steward, he showed them that they had so poorly served God in his children's behalf, that they were about to be deposed; and simple policy, therefore, if nothing better, should prompt them to seek the friendship of the people they had just reproached.

He then charged them with adultery in putting away the God to whom they had been wedded, and marrying him who represented only material wealth, or welfare — the heathen god, Mammon.

Then, in the story of the rich man and the beggar, he showed them the present and future contrast between themselves, as the representatives of Judaism, and himself and friends, as the representatives of Christianity.

These priests, temporally and spiritually, had been "clothed in purple and fine linen," and had "fared sumptuously every day." By their official station, their leisure and learning, the material, literary and religious lore of their land had long been put at their command. With the best teachers of Theology, Religion and Morality, the world had hitherto known, they had enjoyed every necessary aid in learning the true service of God. But the "common people," represented in these "publicans and sinners," were comparatively "beggars," getting only "crumbs" of wealth, with a few incidental comforts, such as one might bestow on a hungry or unfortunate dog.

But the time was at hand when the Jewish priesthood

should die to this condition, by passing into one of great adversity, symbolized by the flames of the heathen hell, or Tartarus; while at the same time many of the people, represented in those who had just received their reproach, should die to their state of poverty, by coming into possession of the spiritual wealth and comforts of Christianity, set forth under the figure of the heathen elysium, or the Jewish heaven, of which "Abraham's bosom" was the symbol.

That this prophecy was soon fulfilled, all who are expected to read this article well know. By the destruction of their temple and the ecclesiastical and political power it represented, these priests were soon deposed; and, in the fall of their nation, so suffered as fully to justify the figure here used. They were "tormented" as in a "flame."

Equally true is it that the friends of Christianity were greatly relieved by this overthrow of their chief foes, and rose to a position far superior to any ever before enjoyed.

Then it was too late for any friend of Judaism to call for relief — its fate was sealed. For, however forgiving and kind Christians might feel toward former personal foes, they could not desire the restoration of the fallen nation or religion. Neither could these receive restoration at their hands: there was a "great gulf fixed" between them. And, such were the conceit and hardness of heart of the priesthood, that, even after their great calamities began, any message by a Christian would have been rejected. Long deaf to "Moses and the prophets," they would not hear one from among those whom they regarded as morally and spiritually dead.

All this is fairly found in this parable and the context; but no contrast between Jews and Gentiles, or between the conditions of any two classes, in this world or in the next, appears to have been in the mind of Christ.

That there had always been conflict between the Jews and the Gentiles, and that Jesus elsewhere recognized the difference between them, is not forgotten; but nothing of this appears here, nothing but what we have above stated.

This issue Christ directly meets. In the parables of the lost sheep, the lost piece of silver, and the prodigal son, he says substantially: Grant that these, my friends, and the friends of my cause, have been sinners; ought we not to rejoice that they have turned from their sinful ways? Or, if they are still "sinners," ought we not, if possible, to save rather than reproach and abandon them?

Then, in the parable of the unjust steward, he showed them that they had so poorly served God in his children's behalf, that they were about to be deposed; and simple policy, therefore, if nothing better, should prompt them to seek the friendship of the people they had just reproached.

He then charged them with adultery in putting away the God to whom they had been wedded, and marrying him who represented only material wealth, or welfare — the heathen god, Mammon.

Then, in the story of the rich man and the beggar, he showed them the present and future contrast between themselves, as the representatives of Judaism, and himself and friends, as the representatives of Christianity.

These priests, temporally and spiritually, had been "clothed in purple and fine linen," and had "fared sumptuously every day." By their official station, their leisure and learning, the material, literary and religious lore of their land had long been put at their command. With the best teachers of Theology, Religion and Morality, the world had hitherto known, they had enjoyed every necessary aid in learning the true service of God. But the "common people," represented in these "publicans and sinners," were comparatively "beggars," getting only "crumbs" of wealth, with a few incidental comforts, such as one might bestow on a hungry or unfortunate dog.

But the time was at hand when the Jewish priesthood

should die to this condition, by passing into one of great adversity, symbolized by the flames of the heathen hell, or Tartarus; while at the same time many of the people, represented in those who had just received their reproach, should die to their state of poverty, by coming into possession of the spiritual wealth and comforts of Christianity, set forth under the figure of the heathen elysium, or the Jewish heaven, of which "Abraham's bosom" was the symbol.

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Article XXII.

The Veda and the Vedic Age.

Livy has transmitted to us a singular tradition, drawn from the mythical age of Roman history, which he thus relates:

"It is recorded that Hercules, after having slain Geryon, drove away his cattle, which were surprisingly beautiful; and that, being fatigued with travelling, he lay down, near the river Tiber, in a grassy place, to which he had swam over, driving the herd before him, in order to refresh the cattle with rest and the rich pasture. There, having indulged himself in meat and wine, he was overpowered by sleep; on which a shepherd, who dwelt in the neighborhood, named Cacus, of great strength and fierceness, being struck with the beauty of the cattle, wished to make prey of some of them; but considering, that if he drove the herd before him into his cave, their tracks would direct the owner's search, he dragged the cattle backward by the tails into the cave, picking out those that were the most remarkable for their beauty. Hercules, awaking at the *dawn of day*, took a view of his herd, and missing some of the number, went directly to the next cave, to examine whether the footsteps led thither; but when he observed that they all pointed outward, and yet did not direct to any other quarter, perplexed, and not knowing how to act, he began to drive forward his herd from that unlucky place. Some of the cows, as they were driven off, missing those that were left behind, began, as was natural, to low after them, and the sound being returned from the cave, by those that were shut up in it, brought Hercules back. Cacus, endeavoring by force to prevent his approach to the cave, and invoking in vain the assistance of the shepherds, received a blow of his club, which put an end to his life." [1]

Livy goes on to state that Evander, the governor of the country, being attracted to the place by the tumult, was made acquainted with the history and character of this hero; and being prompted by a prophecy which he had formerly received from his mother, besought Hercules to institute sacrifices in

[1] Livy, Hist. Rom. B. I. 7.

that very place, in honor of himself; and that then and there, "for the first time, was performed a sacrifice to Hercules, of a heifer taken out of the herd."[2]

We have alluded to this myth, simply as one example among many, of the derivation of Greek and Roman mythology from Oriental sources. Far back in the early periods of *Aryan* migration, while as yet the religious conceptions of the Hindus found expression only in the Vedic songs, we doubtless behold the first budding forth of those poetico-religious instincts, whose luxurious growth, in subsequent ages, formed the staple, not only of the Greek and Roman mythology, but that of all the Indo-European nations, spreading out over the globe, from the Ganges in the East to the British Islands in the West. The Dawn, the Sun, the glowing morning Sky, form the devotional themes of many hymns of the *Vedas*. Of this, the following translations of Max Müller will afford sufficient illustration, besides revealing the origin of the myth of Hercules, giving battle for the recovery of his stolen cows:

"It is said of *Saramâ* (the Dawn), that she 'espied the strong stable (cave) of the cows'; that she 'discovered the cleft of the rock'; that she 'went a long journey,' and 'was the first to hear the lowing of the cows.'" "She did this at the instance of *Indra* and the *Angiras; Brihaspati*, or *Indra*, 'split the rock and recovered the cows.'"

Then follows a hymn from the last book of the *Rig-Veda:*

"The *Panis* said: 'With what intention did *Sarama* reach this place? for the way is far, and leads tortuously away. What was your wish with us? How was the night? How did you cross the waters of the *Rasa?*' *Sarama* said: 'I come, sent as the messenger of *Indra*, desiring, O *Panis*, your great treasures; this preserved me from the fear of crossing, and thus I crossed the waters of the *Rasa*.' The *Panis:* 'What kind of a man is *Indra*, O *Sarama*, what is his look, he as whose messenger thou camest from afar? Let him come hither, and we will make friends with him, and then he may be the cowherd of our cows.' *Sarama:* 'I do not know that he is to be subdued, for it is he himself that

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We quote the explanation of this hymn, as given by M. Müller:

"The myth of which we have collected the fragments is clear enough. It is a reproduction of the old story of the break of day. The bright cows, the rays of the sun, or rain clouds, — for both go by the same name, — have been stolen by the powers of darkness, by Night and her manifold progeny. Gods and men are anxious for their return. But where are they to be found? They are hidden in a dark and strong stable, or scattered along the ends of the sky, and the robbers will not restore them. At last, in the farthest distance, the first signs of the Dawn appear; she peers about, and runs with lightning quickness, it may be, like a hound after a scent, across the darkness of the sky. She is looking for something, and, following the right path, she has found it.

[3] Lectures on the Science of Language. 2nd Series, pp. 482—484.

She has heard the lowing of the cows, and she returns to her starting-place with more intense splendor. After her return there rises *Indra*, the god of light, ready to do battle in good earnest against the gloomy powers, to break open the strong stable in which the bright cows were kept, and to bring light, and strength, and life back to his pious worshippers. This is the simple myth of *Sarama* (and, we may say, of Hercules searching for his cows); composed originally of a few fragments of ancient speach, such as 'the *Panis* stole the cows,' i. e. the light of day is gone; '*Sarama* looks for the cows,' i. e. the Dawn is spreading; '*Indra* has burst the dark stable' (the cave in the rocky darkness), i. e. the Sun has risen." [4], [5]

M. Müller is confident, also, that in these early Hindu myths of the Dawn, the daily contests between the powers of light and darkness, we should find the original germs from which sprang, at a later period and in a far distant land, the Homeric legends of the siege of Troy; since the name, *Sarama*, whom the *Panis* (Paris) seek to seduce from her allegiance to *Indra*, is precisely the same word in Sanskrit that *Helena* is in Greek. He thus concludes, that,

"The siege of Troy is but a repetition of the daily siege of the East, by the solar powers that every evening are robbed of their brightest treasures in the West. That siege, in its original form, is the constant theme of the hymns of the Veda. *Sarama*, it is true, does not yield in the Veda to the temptation of *Pani*, yet the first indications of her faithlessness are there, and the equivocal character of the twilight which she represents would fully account for the further development of the Greek myth." [6]

It is, moreover, by no means improbable, that we here discover the crude, yet prolific ideas, already considerably developed in one direction, which, in another direction, were finally wrought up into the Dualistic system of the Persians; in

[4] Ibid. pp. 488, 489.

[5] NOTE. Daughter, in the Vedic dialect, means *one who milks*—the cows. As they had no cow-yards at that rude age, the cows would naturally wander off into darkness during the night. *Sarama*, the "bonnie lassie," in the early morning goes to look for them for the purpose of milking them. It is thus, perhaps, that she became identified with the Dawn, became a theme for the poet, and even a mythologic character.

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That poetic conception, by which the Vedic bards associated the "bright cows" with the solar rays, naturally accounts, also, for the extreme veneration paid in modern India to the "sacred cows," one or two specimens of which have recently been imported into this country. They are uniformly white; affording thus an indication of their original selection, with reference to the solar deities.

But the stand-point we have now gained, by following a few converging threads of mythological creation, up to their common centre and source; where we behold a thoughtful and energetic race just emerging from the night of primeval times, and taking on a positive and distinct development; affords the best possible opportunity for investigating one of the great fountains, from which the Gentilism of all ages has drawn its germinal conceptions. Such a fountain were the first religious productions of the Hindu *Aryan* race, to which our more particular attention is now to be directed.

Prof. Wilson observes, in his introduction to the *Vishnu Purana*, that "the earliest form under which the Hindu religion appears is that taught in the *Vedas*. The style of the language, and the purport of the composition of these works, as far as we are acquainted with them, indicate a date long anterior to that of any other class of Sanskrit writings."[9]

The following extracts, from a discourse delivered before

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the Royal Institution of Great Britain, by Max Müller, will convey an idea sufficiently definite as to the extent, general character, and approximate date of the Vedic literature.

"The *Veda* is not one single book. It comprises four collections of hymns called Sanhitas of the *Rig-Veda*, the *Yajur-Veda*, the *Sama-Veda*, and the *Atharva-Veda*. The *Atharva-Veda*, though it contains fragments of ancient poetry, is a collection of more modern date. It contains chiefly incantations, magic spells, propitiatory hymns, and large extracts from the other *Vedas*. The earliest authorities speak only of three *Vedas*, which are called *Trayi* or *Triad*. Among these, again, a great distinction must be made, between the *Rig-Veda* on the one side, and the *Yajur* and *Sama Vedas* on the other. The last two collections of hymns are mere prayer-books, arranged according to the order of certain sacrifices, and intended to be used by certain classes of priests: the *Rig-Veda* is an historical collection."

"In the same manner as the Septuagint translation proves the existence of the Old Testament during the third century B. C., although the oldest MSS. date only from the tenth century after Christ, so the works of *Katyayana* in the fourth century B. C., which give us the number of the hymns, the verses, words and syllables, of the *Rig-Veda*, prove that at that time the *Veda* existed in exactly the same form in which we possess it. The number of the hymns is 1,028, that of the verses varies from 10.402 to 10,622, that of the words is 153,826, that of the syllables 432,000. These *Rabbinical* studies on the *Veda* seem to date from about 600 B. C., and they are embodied in works called *Sutras* or threads, all composed in the most brief, enigmatic, and almost algebraic style. This literature of *Sutras* is preceded by another class of writings, the *Brâhmanas*, composed in a very prolix and tedious style, and containing lengthy lucubrations on the sacrifices, and on the duties of the different classes of priests. Each of the three or four *Vedas*, or each of the three or four classes of priests, has its own *Brahmanas* and its own *Sutras;* and as the *Brahmanas* are pre-supposed by the *Sutras*, while no *Sutra* is ever quoted by the *Brahmanas*, it is clear that the period of *Brahmana* literature must have preceded the period of the *Sutra* literature. There are, however, old and new *Brahmanas*, and there are in the *Brahmanas* themselves long lists of teachers who handed down old *Brahmanas* or composed new

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ones, so that it seems impossible to accommodate the whole of that literature in less than two centuries, from about 800 to 600 B. C. Before, however, a single *Brahmana* could have been composed, it was not only necessary that there should have been one collection of the ancient hymns, like that contained in the *Rig-Veda*, but the three or four classes of priests must have been established." [10]

We have given more space to these extracts than might otherwise seem proper, because they not only show the existence of separate periods even in the Vedic literature or age, extending through several centuries, but they exhibit the grounds, or data, on which Sanskrit students have predicated their conclusions as to the actual date of the *Vedas* themselves. Prof. Müller, it will be seen, fixes the date of the *Sutra* period 600 B. C.; then the *Brahmana* period carries us back to 800 B. C. Prof. M. supposes, also, "that three generations more would be required to account for the various readings adopted in the prayer-books by different sects, and invested with a kind of sacred authority, previously to the composition of even the earliest among the *Brahmanas*"; and "that the work of collecting the prayers for the different classes of priests . . . . belonged to the tenth century B. C." [11]

The composition and collection of the hymns, therefore, must have preceded this date. But it is evident that M. Müller is quite too cautious; too much inclined to contract the periods, during which should take place the free development of such a vast and varied literature; and, besides, there are other circumstances bearing on this point. Our own accomplished philologist, Dr. B. F. Dwight, supposes that the Vedic dialect ceased to be spoken even not much later than 1500 B. C. He says, "the Vedic Sanskrit was a spoken language in India, as late probably as 1500 years before Christ, or five hundred years before the days of Homer and Solomon." [12]

Now, that the hymns were composed while the Vedic dialect

[10] Proceedings of the Royal Institution, May, 1863. pp. 130, 138.
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was yet a living language, and hence prior to about 1500 B. C., would seem a necessary supposition. Their collection into one body would very likely take place within a century, at least, after the Vedic dialect had become obsolete, or about 1400 B. C.; and this is, indeed, the more usual date assigned by European scholars, for the compilation of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda*.[13] "Colebrooke supposes them to have been compiled in the fourteenth century before Christ, Sir William Jones in the sixteenth."[14] Another writer states, that the

"Hindoos affirm the *Vedas* were compiled 3000, but European critics say at most 1400 years before Christ, and some assign a much later date. That was the period at which the sacred hymns and prayers of the nation were compiled and arranged in their present shape. All the hymns, therefore, must be of older, some of them of much older, date; probably ranging from 2000 B. C. downwards to the date of their compilation; such hymns only having been preserved as rooted themselves in the hearts of the community, and floated for generations on the stream of memory, till an organized priesthood arose to consecrate, and a literature to record them."[15]

It has seemed necessary to be thus particular respecting the character, extent, and approximate date of the Vedic literature, in order to convey an adequate conception as to the actual state of the Hindu development, at so early an age in the world's history. Beside this, it will afford us a kind of chronological position, from which to estimate the probable condition of other races with whom the Hindus came into contact; from which to judge of the real antiquity of ancient civilization; even to catch a few glimpses, if possible, of still earlier times. The *Vedas* contain many traces, beside the religious development they manifest, of the Hindu civilization at this period; of that of their neighbors, also, and of a distinct *pre*-Vedic age. From these sources we learn, first of all, that Hindustan was not the original home of the Sanskrit-

[13] Dr. Allen's India Ancient and Modern, pp. 23, 24.
[14] Gardner's Faiths of the World. Vol II. p. 920.
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speaking *Aryans;* that their first appearance in India was that of foreign emigrants, or rather, as conquering invaders. Sir William Jones wrote on this point as follows:

"Of these cursory observations on the Hindus, which it would require volumes to expand and illustrate, this is the result: that they had an immemorial affinity with the old Persians, Ethiopians, and Egyptians; the Phenicians, Greeks, and Tuscans; the Scythians or Goths, and Celts; the Chinese, Japanese, and Peruvians; whence, as no reason appears for believing that they were a colony from any one of those nations, or any of those nations from them, we may fairly conclude that they all proceeded from some central country." [16]

While subsequent investigations have shown that the circle of strictly ethnic affinities here drawn by Sir William is far too broad, they confirm his opinion that they all proceeded from one common central region; and that in Central Asia. A writer in the *North British Review* observes, that "the geography of these (the Vedic) hymns confirms, in a striking manner, the theory long held by the best Sanskrit scholars, that the *Aryan* or original Hindu race migrated from Central Asia about seventeen centuries before Christ, entered India by the north-west, dwelt, during the earliest Vedic period, in the Punjaub, and migrated, or rather fought their way, into Central India, during the five centuries that succeeded." [17] An American writer of excellent repute writes touching this point, as follows:

"The Persian tradition in the most ancient sacred writings, the *Vendidad*, places the original habitation of the *Aryan* fathers near Belurtag and Samarkand, on the plateau of Pamer, in what is now Eastern Toorkestan, at the sources of the Oxus and Jaxartes. The Indian *Aryans* have no definite tradition as to origin, though their earliest songs, and many indications, point toward the north-west from India, as their starting point." [18]

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These opinions are confirmed by still another writer:

"Grown restless on the elevated plains of Bactria, overpassing the snowy defiles of the lofty Hindoo-Koosh, and descending through cold and barren Affghanistan into the plains of the Indus, we seem to find them at first located on the eastern side of that river, chiefly in Sindh and Guzerat, and spread in independent detachments over the Punjaub."[19]

The date of this migration has been estimated by one of the foregoing authorities at 1700 B. C. Mr. Brace, also, states that, "in regard to the date of these migrations, everything is obscure. Bunsen supposes that the *Aryans* were in the land of the Indus, from 4000 to 3000 B. C. Dunker dates the probable formation of the *Vedas* in the earliest ages of the *Aryan* life in India, from 1800 to 1500 B. C."[20] Now, as respects the civilization of the Hindus, at this early period, we have it thus described:

"We have mention in their hymns of cities, of commerce, merchants and sailors, of weapons of wood and iron, of chariots, of heralds, travellers, and inns for their accommodation, and even of the vices of a primitive civilization, such as dice-playing, prostitution, debts and debtors. The position of woman was also that of a freer and better age."[21]

Another writer speaks very much to the same effect, and says:

"If the *Aryans* do not speak much of their own cities, it is not because they were mere nomads when they entered India, but because they were on the move. They had numerous flocks and herds, indeed, but they also cultivated the soil and laid it out into fields. They 'measure the land with a rod'; they 'plough the earth for barley'; and they 'bring home the produce of their fields in carts.' They have towns, and practice many of the arts of civilized life. Weaving is an ordinary occupation." "They worked in iron, and also in gold; they forged armor and weapons of steel."[22]

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This writer, however, throws some doubt upon what has been asserted respecting the use, at this early period, of iron and steel for weapons of warfare. He says, the "sword, spear, knife and arrow were all of brass." [24] Yet M. Müller, in 1861, wrote as follows, respecting the evidences derived from words:

"If carefully interpreted, they, too, will serve as evidence as to the state of civilization attained by the *Aryans before they left their common home*. It can be proved, by the evidence of language, that *before their separation the Aryans* led the life of agricultural nomads, — a life such as Tacitus describes that of the ancient Germans. They knew the arts of ploughing, of making roads, of building ships, of weaving and sewing, of erecting houses; they had counted at least as far as one hundred. They had domesticated the most important animals, the cow, the horse, the sheep, the dog; they were acquainted with the most useful metals, and *armed with iron hatchets*, whether for peaceful or warlike purposes." [25]

This, in 1861; but in 1863, M. Müller delivered another course of lectures on Language, before the Royal Institution, at which time he seems less positive as to the use of this metal before the *Aryans* left their common home, or even in the earliest Vedic period; though the *Atharva-Veda* contains distinct references to the ordinary use of iron. [26]

Without attempting to settle the point, as to the use of this metal by the Hindus, at so early a period as their migration into India, it is still abundantly evident that they learned the use of it soon after. One thing is certain: they were already

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many centuries removed from the condition of barbarism, and were well started in the career of civilization.[27] But a remark or two now, respecting the *pre-Aryan* races in India.

At least two successive layers or strata of populations had spread over this territory, previous to the date of the *Aryan* migration; and the remnants of even the first of these are thought to be plainly distinguished at the present day. They all belong to the Turanian or Scythic stock. This Turanian, or Scythic, race formed, it seems, the aboriginal element, which peopled the entire Eastern Continent in the first ages after the flood. Of this form of speech, for it is by the language that these races are distinguished, as much as in any other respect, Max Müller remarks, as cited by Mr. Rawlinson, that "It comprises all languages spoken in Asia or Europe not included under the Arian (*Aryan*) or Semitic families, with the exception, perhaps, of the Chinese and its dialects."[28] Rawlinson himself observes, that,

"The original occupation of Asia by Turanian races is . . . . generally admitted; the peopling of Europe in primeval times by tribes having a similar form of speech, which yielded everywhere to Indo-European races, and were either absorbed or driven into holes and corners, is apparent from the position of the Lapps, Finns, Esths, and Basques, whose dialects are of the Turanian type."[29]

Scholars are now of the opinion, while the first populations spreading over the globe after the Deluge were Turanian, that out of this primordial form of speech was subsequently developed the Hamite, or ancient Egyptian, which finally matured in the Semitic tongues, the Hebrew, Arabic, &c. The devel-

[27] NOTE. Since writing the above, we have found reason to rather confirm the more usual impression among scholars, that the use of iron was indeed well known in that part of the world, as early as the date we have assigned to the Vedic compositions — 1400 B. C. Mr. Rawlinson remarks, what in fact is not unknown to the Biblical student, that "Iron was known in the days of Job (xxviii. 2); Moses mentions Tubal-Cain, the instructor of every artificer in brass and iron (Gen. iv. 22), and compares Egypt to the 'iron furnace' (Deut. iv. 20); Og, King of Bashan, who lived about 1450 B. C., had a bedstead of iron." (Rawlinson's Herod. Vol. II. p. 120, note 9). The importance of this point, as indicative of the degree of civilization attained at so early a period, will be apparent; and this is our apology for dwelling so long upon it. If these nations had passed through the various stages of the flint, stone, and bronze periods, they were certainly many centuries removed from pure barbarism.

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opment of Semitism Mr. Rawlinson supposes to have taken place about 2000 B. C.[30] According to a similar law, and not far from the same era, it has been conjectured that the *Aryan* or Indo-European development took place.[31]

As in Europe and many parts of Central Asia, so in India, the *Aryans* were long preceded by Turanian races, which were finally supplanted only after centuries of conflict. The first or aboriginal tribes, who traversed the wilds of India, seem now to be represented by the "Hill-tribes," so called, such as the Bhills, the Koles, and Khonds of the Vindhya regions, and various other tribes of more or less extent, scattered here and there throughout India. Some of them are in the very lowest stage of civilization, while others are somewhat advanced. There is a marked difference between most of these tribes and the Tamulic race, so called, which entered India at a subsequent era, though both are received as strictly Turanian. The Kole language, especially, is supposed to have been spoken in India, previous to the Tamulic conquest; and to mark an ethnic variety between the two strata of population. The Tamulians are supposed to have been the last great tribe or race, of a Turanian type, who, entering India from the north, pressed onward the prior population toward the south of India, to be themselves driven in the same direction, at a still later period, by the conquering *Aryans*. The Tamulic race had "evidently reached a considerable degree of unity and civilization, before they were exposed to *Aryan* influences."[32] This is manifest from the numerous allusions to, and descriptions of them, which are found scattered throughout the *Vedas*.

Thus much has seemed to be necessary to an adequate conception of what we have designated *The Vedic Aye;* to portray, in fact, the outward conditions and circumstances, that surrounded the Hindu *Aryan* race, as it first emerges from

[30] Ibid. p. 534. [31] Ibid. pp. 526, 527.

[32] Bruce's Races, &c., p. 145. On the subject of *pre-Aryan* emigrations and races in India, as well as their civilization, consult, beside this author, pp. 140—148, *Blackwood*, March, 1859; pp. 308—334; and an excellent paper on "The Aborigines of India," in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1860, pp. 709—755.

the darkness of traditional times, into a distinct and positive, though hardly, as yet, historic light. It remains to us now, to investigate the general features of the *Vedic mythology and cultus*. Describing the most general features of the Vedic religion, Mr. Colebrooke says:

"The real doctrine of the Indian Scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements and the stars and planets as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the gods of Hindu mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated in the *Veda*. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system; nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text which I have seen, though such are sometimes hinted at by the commentators." [33]

Referring to the above, Prof. Wilson remarks that some of the statements may possibly have to be modified, but says:

"Still, however, it is true that the prevailing character of the *Vedas* is the worship of the personified elements; of *Agni*, or fire; *Indra*, the firmament; *Vayu*, the air; *Varuna*, the water; of *Aditya*, the sun; *Soma*, the moon; and other elementary and planetary personages. It is also true, that the worship of the *Vedas* is for the most part domestic worship, consisting of prayers and oblations offered — in their houses, not in temples — by individuals for individual good, and addressed to unreal presences, not to visible types. In a word, the religion of the *Vedas* was not idolatry." [34]

These remarks would not apply, of course, to the Epic and Puranic periods of Hindu mythology, nor yet to the Buddhist system, that intervened in part between the Epic and Puranic. We have only to do, in this paper, with the Vedic era; the first stage in the development of Hinduism.

The question has been much discussed among Sanskrit scholars, whether the *Vedas* contain a distinct recognition of one Supreme Being; whether, indeed, the Hindu religion originally started from Monotheism, or a mere element wor-

[33] As. Res. Vol. VIII. p. 473. [34] Vish. Puran. Introd. p. 2.

opment of Semitism Mr. Rawlinson supposes to have taken place about 2000 B. C.[30] According to a similar law, and not far from the same era, it has been conjectured that the *Aryan* or Indo-European development took place.[31]

As in Europe and many parts of Central Asia, so in India, the *Aryans* were long preceded by Turanian races, which were finally supplanted only after centuries of conflict. The first or aboriginal tribes, who traversed the wilds of India, seem now to be represented by the "Hill-tribes," so called, such as the Bhills, the Koles, and Khonds of the Vindhya regions, and various other tribes of more or less extent, scattered here and there throughout India. Some of them are in the very lowest stage of civilization, while others are somewhat advanced. There is a marked difference between most of these tribes and the Tamulic race, so called, which entered India at a subsequent era, though both are received as strictly Turanian. The Kole language, especially, is supposed to have been spoken in India, previous to the Tamulic conquest; and to mark an ethnic variety between the two strata of population. The Tamulians are supposed to have been the last great tribe or race, of a Turanian type, who, entering India from the north, pressed onward the prior population toward the south of India, to be themselves driven in the same direction, at a still later period, by the conquering *Aryans*. The Tamulic race had "evidently reached a considerable degree of unity and civilization, before they were exposed to *Aryan* influences."[32] This is manifest from the numerous allusions to, and descriptions of them, which are found scattered throughout the *Vedas*.

Thus much has seemed to be necessary to an adequate conception of what we have designated *The Vedic Aye;* to portray, in fact, the outward conditions and circumstances, that surrounded the Hindu *Aryan* race, as it first emerges from

[30] Ibid. p. 534. [31] Ibid. pp. 526, 527.

[32] Bruce's Races, &c., p. 145. On the subject of *pre-Aryan* emigrations and races in India, as well as their civilization, consult, beside this author, pp. 140—148, *Blackwood*, March, 1859; pp. 308—334; and an excellent paper on "The Aborigines of India," in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1860, pp. 709—755.

the darkness of traditional times, into a distinct and positive, though hardly, as yet, historic light. It remains to us now, to investigate the general features of the *Vedic mythology and cultus*. Describing the most general features of the Vedic religion, Mr. Colebrooke says:

"The real doctrine of the Indian Scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended; and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements and the stars and planets as gods. The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and energies, and most of the gods of Hindu mythology, are indeed mentioned, or at least indicated in the *Veda*. But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system; nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text which I have seen, though such are sometimes hinted at by the commentators." [33]

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"In the *Vedas* we can trace with ease the period of barbarism, the nomad herdsman life, and the worship of the elements. In the Vedic period only four elements are known, or at least only four are personified, fire, water, air and earth." [36]

But in a note this writer explains himself somewhat, by saying:

"I do not mean by this that the *Vedas*, as writings, and as we possess them, belong to the age of Barbarism. Polytheism and Mysticism have already impregnated these ancient hymns. It must, however, be remembered that the older songs, belonging to a simpler age, were handed down, and here incorporated with the more recent ones; and it is among these that we find marked traces of Element Worship." [37]

Mr. Thomson might have added, and in our opinion with entire correctness, that in those older hymns were marked traces, also, of an original Monotheism; the Element Worship being but a religious decay. But in the later stages of Vedic worship, in the Mysticism with which he finds the later Vedic hymns impregnated, Mr. Thomson recognizes the existence of a spiritual element, and observes that there "The idea of a great, invisible Supreme Being comes prominently

[35] Thomson's Bhagavad Gita, Introd. p. 18. [36] Ibid. p. 23. [37] Id.

forward, and the worship of the elements, no longer the simple, selfish, but necessary faith of the shepherd and husbandman, is incorporated with this spiritual idea, and they themselves invested with mystic personality." [38]

A writer of no mean abilities nor limited research, in the *Westminster Review*, goes into a somewhat thorough investigation of the matter in question here, and arrives at conclusions similar to those expressed by Mr. Thomson. [39] He controverts the opinion put forth by Max Müller, "that religion can only grow from a pure Monotheistic root"; an opinion which seems to us so just, that we feel inclined to consult M. Müller more at length on this important question. In the following extract, we conceive this writer has stated a principle that justly applies to every mythological system, and proves that Monotheism in some form, — it may be ever so vague and indistinct, — antedates all mythology. He says:

"*Before the Greeks could call the sky, or the sun, or the moon, gods, it was absolutely necessary that they should have framed to themselves some idea of the godhead.* We cannot speak of King Solomon unless we first know what, in a general way, is meant by king; nor could a Greek speak of gods in the plural before he had realized, in some way or other, the general predicate of the godhead. Idolatry arises naturally when people say 'The sun is god,' i. e. when they apply the predicate god to that which has no claim to it." [40]

M. Müller, therefore, would seem to regard the Vedic mythology, not an advanced stage from a primitive barbarism, but a decadence from an original Monotheism. He pictures the last stage of that decay, which precedes actual Polytheism, in these words:

"Every god is conceived as supreme, or at least inferior to no other god, at the time that he is praised or invoked by the Vedic poet; and the feeling that the various deities are but different names, different conceptions of that Incomprehensible Being which no thought can reach, no language express, is not yet quite extinct in the minds of the more thoughtful *Rishis*." [41]

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Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer of the universe. Thus, the *a* is said to represent *Vishnu*, the preserver; the *u*, *Shiva*, the destroyer; and the *m*, *Brahma*, the creator. A more probable origin is, that it is composed of the initials of the three personifications of the triad of elements, which is a much more ancient trinity than that of Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. The *a* would then represent *Agni*, or fire; the *u*, *Varuna*, water; [46] *m*, *Marut*, wind or air. The reverence attached to this monosyllable may be inferred from the fact that some transcribers of MSS. have been afraid to write the awful word itself, and have substituted some other." [47] [48]

It would be difficult to trace definitely the absolute origin of the Hindu Triads. Whether they arose from the habit of the Vedic worshippers, of associating the three personifications of the elements, fire, air, and water, or whether we should look far back into the *pre*-Vedic ages, for the dawn of Triune worship, cannot now be settled with much degree of certainty. It is probable, however, that the grouping of deities into triplets, or triads, prevailed even before the *Aryan* nations left their common home on the high table lands of Bactria. For in Babylon and Assyria, where the names of the deities are not all Semitic, but many of foreign extraction, [49] we find a similar system prevailing from the earliest times. In the Babylonian mythology, we trace distinctly a first and second triad. *Anu*, *Bal*, and *Hea*, constitute the first; while *Iva*, the sky, *San* or *Sansi*, the sun, and *Sin*, the moon, go to make up the second triad. These deities, espe-

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[48] The Jewish scribes, as is well known, exercised a like restraint, in copying the Hebrew Scriptures. This excessive veneration for certain names of the Deity seems to have prevailed among all, or nearly all, the ancient nations. Witness the Ox of the Egyptians, BAL of the Babylonians, and the Tetragrammaton of Greek writers. This singular and wide-spread superstition, if, indeed, it is proper to call it such, must have come down from some one original source, as, perhaps, from the OM of the *Vedas*, or it points far back to some "lost word," which was in reality the "vocal representation of the Supreme Being." There exist many curious facts, that would lead one to the latter supposition; as e. g. — "In the beginning was the *Word*, and the *Word* was with God, and the *Word was God*." — John i. 1.

[49] See Dr. D. Chwolsohn's Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus. Band II. p. 164.

cially those of the second triad, were worshipped as early, probably,[50] as 2000 B. C. The fact that a similar system prevailed in Egypt, also, as well as among other nations of the highest antiquity, leads us to suppose that it dates backward to the period before the great separation of nations or races took place.

The Vedic doctrine of the future life is a subject of no small interest and import, and it is proposed to offer some evidence bearing on this point, before concluding these investigations. We shall depend, for information here, mainly upon the researches of Prof. Whitney, whose authority in Sanskrit matters is inferior to none in America. We find in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, an excellent and learned paper from Prof. Whitney's pen, devoted wholly to the elucidation of this particular topic. Speaking of the Hindu belief at this early period, the Professor remarks, that,

"They had a hearty and healthy love of earthly life, and an outspoken relish for all that makes up the ordinary pleasures of life." "*Yet death, to them, was surrounded with no terrors. They regarded it as only an entrance upon a new life of happiness, in the world of the departed* Somewhere beyond the grave, in the region where the gods dwelt, the children of men were assembled anew, under the sceptre of him who was the first progenitor of their race, the divine *Yama. No idea of retribution was connected with that of the existence after death.* It was only a prolongation of the old life, under changed circumstances."[51]

Prof. Whitney presents several extracts from the Vedic hymns, in illustration of the funeral rites, and the sentiments naturally called forth at such occasions, touching the grave, the state of the dead, &c. The following relates to the act of burial:

"Approach thou now the lap of earth, thy mother,
The wide-extending earth, the ever kindly;
A maiden soft as wool to him who comes with gifts,
She shall protect thee from destruction's bosom."

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As mother with her robe her child,
So do thou cover him, O earth."[52]

Another extract reveals the Vedic conceptions respecting death:

"The living have removed him from their dwellings;
Carry him hence away, far from the village;
Death was the kindly messenger of Yama,
Hath sent his soul to dwell among the Fathers."[53]

We have not space to multiply these interesting relics of ancient times, revealing the sentiments upon these sacred topics, which prevailed nearly four thousand years ago. Their great similarity to the simple faith of the Patriarchs, as traced in the Jewish Scriptures, will at once be recognized. Prof. Whitney states, what is well known to have been the case, also, with the Patriarchs, that the Vedic people made no distinction, in the realm of *Yama*, "into a heaven and a hell."[54] It was only in after ages, that *Yama* himself became the inexorable and dreaded judge, and numerous places of torment, for the wicked after death, were invented by the perverted fancies of a people grown corrupt and superstitious.

The following hymn to the Dawn, as old, perhaps, as the song of Miriam, may well symbolize the dawn of civilization in that far-distant, Morning-land:

"Morning! child of heaven, appear!
Dawn with wealth our hearts to cheer;
Thou that spreadest out the light,
Dawn with food and glad our sight;
Gracious goddess! hear our words —
Dawn with increase on our herds!"

"She hath dwelt in heaven of old,
May we now her light behold!
Which, dawning brightly from afar,
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"Morning comes! the nurse of all —
Like a matron, at whose call
All that dwell the house within,
Their appointed task begin."

"Morning! shine with joyful ray!
Drive the darkness far away!
Bring us blessings every day!"[55]

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Article XXIII.

The open Door of Opportunity.

Just as God opened a door of opportunity and of successful labor to the church of Asiatic Philadelphia, so he has opened one to us. The good people of other churches are fast being convinced, if not convinced already, that Universalism is something more than an interloping heresy — that it has come into the world providentially, and has its prepared place and its appointed work.

Every form of organized Christianity, every Christian church called by whatever name, has its open door of opportunity and of privilege, and is far from being a trespasser upon fields not its own. It may rightfully cast out devils in the name of Christ, even though it follow not with us, but walk in ways of its own choosing, and adopt its own methods of labor. We hold it to be true, that not alone our own communion — which we hope will one day flood the world with the glory of its better faith, and gladden it with the fruits of its better labors — but all communions, with all their diversity of name, and creed, and forms of worship, exist by providential appointment; and have subserved, and do now subserve, a providential purpose. They have entered into their several places, and gone to work each after its own fashion, because an open door has been set before them, and fields barren, or white unto the harvest, have awaited their tilling or reaping. God had need of them, and so he called them and set them to work, and is guiding them to the accomplishment of his own designs. As in the natural, so in his moral realm, he works through diverse agencies; through these opposing sects, and antagonistic creeds, and differing religions, and varying forms of worship and labor. And each in its appointed sphere, and through its adaptation to a certain condition of things, and its peculiarity of gifts, and the special line of labor which it follows, is accomplishing the divine will, and helping forward the work of Christianizing and redeeming the world.

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This is not to say that the many sects, into which the Christian world is divided, are in all respects builded upon a Gospel foundation; or that the multitude of creeds to which Christian men and women subscribe, are to be accepted, each and all, as setting forth Christ's truth without admixture of error. No doubt all the various churches have aimed to build upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, of which Christ is the corner-stone; and in their professions of faith have sought to furnish clear and truthful statements of doctrinal Christianity. But it is quite clear, we think, that while the several churches have builded, as we may grant, upon the only foundation that can be laid, they have not in all respects built after a divine pattern, nor with solid and enduring material; nor have their edifices, their theological temples, in breadth and height, in beauty of proportion and harmony of detail, in the magnificence of their adornings, and sumptuousness of their entertainment, corresponded with the strength, beauty, richness, grandeur, of the foundation upon which they have been erected.

Undoubtedly all sects hold some truth — are crystallizations around some great thought, or are the representatives of a grand idea, or of a newly developed principle. Very much they will hold in common. And very much, too, which they hold as essential truth, and which perhaps makes them to differ from each other, and about which they sometimes quarrel with one another, will be shaken down, and ground, and sifted, and put into new forms, so that it shall scarcely be recognized any longer; and in the book where it was written, in the pulpit where it was preached, in the pews where it was assented to, it shall be a dead letter, an excluded and forgotten thing.

There is that, we think, which underlies all doctrinal statements, informs all creeds, pervades all our interpretations of Christianity, and is common to all churches. There are certain great convictions that are found in the hearts of all Christian men and women. It is in our statements of the truth we all alike see, that we differ — in the formal expres-

sion of great underlying convictions, the putting them into words, and words into creeds, that we contradict one another, and are led to break up into separate communions.

But wide apart as Christian churches may be with respect of doctrinal statements, each of them has a providential mission; to each has been opened a door of opportunity and of successful labor. And each, without doubt, is accomplishing the purpose for which it came into existence, and helping to build up Christ's kingdom in the earth.

Before our own denomination, as we have said, has been set an open door; and thus far no weight of opposition, no force of adverse influences, no hand, even though armed with the strength of a score of hostile sects, has been able to shut it. It has stood wide open for more than a half century, and never more widely than to-day. We have not done everything, but we have done something. We began our work in weakness. We entered upon our providential field of labor with only here and there a laborer. And like the builders of the second temple at Jerusalem, we wrought with arms at our side. We fought as we prepared the soil for the future harvest; and we watered the furrows with our tears, and enriched them with our sacrifices. We were as empty-handed as Christ and his poor fishermen preachers were; as unlettered, for the most part, as were they; and nearly all our accessions, as were those of the early Christian Church, were from among the common people. It was under great difficulties, in the face of the united and violent opposition of the established churches of the land, that we planted the field given us to occupy, and which to-day is white unto the harvest. The Gospel of Universalism was preached and believed amid much tribulation. But there were souls waiting for it — many a darkened mind to be lifted by it into marvellous light, and many a crushing sorrow to be soothed and comforted by its precious consolations. So by the good there was in it; by the satisfying bread there was in it; by its appeals, not only to the reason, but to all that is tender, humane, generous, noble and just in the souls of men; by its beautiful

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interpretation of what Christ said about God, and what he himself came to do, and about the Heavenly Land, and what the end of all is to be, — by all these things it won its way, softened down prejudice, insinuated itself little by little into hard, bigoted hearts, compelled its bitterest opponents to say that it was "too good to be true," put new words into the mouth of the Orthodox pulpit, quenched the fires of the old-fashioned Tophet, and infused a measure of its liberal, humane, charitable spirit into nearly all the theological systems of the day.

The seed-time is passed, and the time for reaping has come. Never has there been given to any church such wealth of opportunity and privilege, as to-day awaits embrace and improvement by our own. Never were a people greeted by more hopeful prophecies, by more radiant signs of promise, by more encouraging tokens of the divine presence and approbation, than are the Universalist Brotherhood. In point of all that makes a sect respectable and influential, that entitles it to respectful consideration, that sets it apart as an instrument of broadest achievement, our denomination is entitled to a prominent place on the list of American Churches. Its new and better interpretation of Christianity, its assertion of the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Man, and the final ingathering of all souls to the infinite Love, have met with a very wide and hearty response. The standard literature of the day is saturated with its spirit, and its central idea glows upon the pages of our best authors. Universalism runs smoothly and naturally off the pen of Mrs. Stowe, and the tongue as well as the pen of her brother, Henry Ward Beecher. Dickens writes it down in his many books, and makes it the soul of his Christmas Carols. Longfellow sings it in his Psalms of Life, and great-hearted men and women chant it in the sweet choral of their loving deeds. It has entered into the churches of every name, and it furnishes the Orthodox pulpit with its most delightful themes. By how many Evangelical clergymen its doctrinal statements are received, we have not the means of knowing; but we meet

with many of these brethren who assure us that in sympathy they stand upon our platform, that they have no faith in the creeds that were rocked with them in their cradles. And we may say of the preaching of this class of men — of the Beechers, and Tyngs, and Bushnells, and multitudes of less note — as the *N. Y. Evangelist* once said, that their words, scattered far and wide, spoken to so many people, are like millions of drops of rain falling on the mountain-side, loosening the soil; the result of which, by and by, will be a tremendous land-slide into Universalism. The whole drift of theological thought and sentiment is toward our system of faith; and souls yearning for better views of God and of the Life Immortal, are turning their wistful eyes toward the best, the divinest interpretation of the Gospel ever given to the race of man.

We now go back and say again, that never were opportunities so grand, means so abundant, signs of promise so cheering, vouchsafed to any Christian church as to-day are vouchsafed to ours. We may reap a glorious harvest if we will. We may become the Church of the Future if we will. The condition is, the improvement of our great opportunities, the employment of our ample means, the maintenance of our denominational integrity, — that we enter in anew at the open door set before us, that we thrust the sickle into the ripened grain, and reap and gather into garners. In one word, the condition is LABOR — a readiness to assume the responsibilities, and to meet the demands, of our position in this new era in our history.

It is impossible that we shall do more in a single article, of reasonable limits, than indicate what is the work we are to prosecute, or what is the direction in which the path of denominational duty lies. It is understood, of course, that we are to be loyal to the truth committed to our hands — loyal to UNIVERSALISM. That which we have preached as the best theory or presentation of Christianity, and has been so widely received, and been the joy and comfort of so many thousands of human hearts, is to be preached still — preached with

increased faithfulness and power — that souls hungering for it may be fed, and a new life be poured into the arteries of the nation and of the world. It is to aid in the preaching of Universalism to this end, that we are to enter the widely-open door of opportunity, and to take into our hands the implements of a new and greater work in the broad and promising field which we occupy. And of this work it may be said, that it embraces a greater thoroughness and efficiency of denominational organization; large additions to the means of denominational education and culture; and a more earnest and cheerful helping forward of all enterprises looking to the extension of the Church, and the planting and nurturing of our cause in every part of the land.

To work comfortably, and with the greatest success, we need a strong, nicely-adjusted harness; one in which we can pull together, and with the least waste of strength. It is hoped that none will take fright at this mention of harness, as though the idea of servitude were included in it. We, too, are free-born, and love liberty. Bonds other than those of duty and of love are not to be thought of. But the most earnest advocate of Independence must concede that if we would combine our entire strength, and wield it with the most telling effect as a massed power, we must have some medium by which individuals shall be gathered into companies, and companies into larger associations, and these again into one grand body with a common brain to plan and direct, and common hands to execute.

Having its origin amidst New England Congregationalism, it was only natural that the Universalist Church should borrow from that system the essential features of its polity, and that it should have consented with reluctance to any changes that from time to time have been made. Educated into the belief that only under the Congregational Order can freedom be enjoyed; that any other Order has fetters and chains for the soul, and is little better, therefore, than a despotism; it has been slow to confer power, other than advisory, upon its associations and conventions. They might deliberate and

recommend, but were clothed with no authority to execute — they might plan, but were given no hands to work with.

It can hardly be said that we have had at any time a fixed, definite ecclesiastical system. In all these years we have been chaotic enough. There has been little or no uniformity in our parish organizations, and certainly none in our methods of labor. We have also lacked thorough, efficient discipline. All the while, however, we have been growing into a better shape; now and then taking on some new feature in which was promise of form and comeliness by and by. No doubt but that very soon, by certain "off-takings and on-takings," as the Germans say, we shall round up into a complete, symmetrical body, thoroughly equipped for the work given us to do. We have only to look to it that we do not commit the folly of supposing that the extremities should be the sole seat of vital power, and the centre empty of it. The people are indeed the source of power. We believe in the capacity of men for self-government, and are far from holding that the members of any communion ought not to have the entire control of their own ecclesiastical affairs. None shall go beyond us in advocacy of the liberty with which Christ made his followers free from every yoke of bondage. But the people do not put on yokes when they organize themselves into municipalities, and then into states, and then into a nation; legislating, commanding, executing, through servants of their own choosing, and holding them to a strict accountability for the manner in which they use all grants of power. Neither do Christian men and women come under a despotism when they devise and adopt a purely republican form of Church Government — a representative government, "analogous to that of the Municipal, State, and General Government in this country" — and clothe the several bodies they create with authority to execute their will, and do all things necessary to the general welfare. There has been seen quite as much tyranny under the rule of Congregationalism, before now, as under that of the Romish Hierarchy.

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urge how important it is that we secure, as soon as may be, a uniform system of organization for the Church, commencing with the Parish, extending thence to the State Convention, and having its completion in the National Ecclesiastical Congress. This system should also provide for local and general supervision. Superintendence is essential to the proper working of such a system. Executive Boards alone are not sufficient. They deal chiefly with temporalities; and the planting, care, and nurture of churches form no part of their legitimate work. A superintendent for each State should be appointed, and over all a general superintendent. We need not call the men so appointed Bishops, unless we please. Whether we do, or do not, their office will be the same — that of oversight, of pastoral watch and ward.

Give us such a system, with a Sunday School Union, a Publishing House, a Missionary Society, which would be sure to follow in due season, and it cannot be doubted, that, at our approaching Centenary, we would be able to make report of such progress as scarcely any other church has been blessed with. The needed harness would be supplied, in which the entire body of the Church could work with united and simultaneous effort.

But to more than any thoroughness of denominational organization, or broadness of church extension, or increase of educational facilities, does our work bind us. It demands not only that, agreeably to the demands of the age, and the claims the truth has upon us, we shall proclaim the glad tidings of Universalism in the form of doctrinal statements; but also that we shall proclaim them in ministries of love, put them into practical forms, and so preach them as that they shall bless God's poor children and our suffering brothers, and help to lift the world up out of its woes and wrongs.

True Christianity is to-day what its divine Teacher was eighteen hundred years ago, — God with us, speaking to us, and healing every moral sickness and every spiritual malady among the people. And that is a true Church, called by whatever name, which is Christianity organized, preaching

Christ's words, and doing his works of mercy and love. Such a Church will be as truly an Immanuel as Christ was, for it will speak for God, and will be the friend and helper of his lost and perishing children. It will all the while be doing God's work, going up into the mountain to pray, only to come down again, refreshed and strengthened, to be a minister of the divine grace, with a heavenly efficacy in the touch of its hand, and a life-giving virtue even in the hem of its garment.

To so preach through all the means God has graciously put into our hands, through the schools and colleges we shall endow, through all great movements having for their end the widest extension of our Church, through all benevolent and reformatory enterprises, showing ourselves the ministers of Christ's love, and putting our beautiful faith into blessed deeds of kindness and philanthropy, will be to make our Church the Church of the Future, because it shall win for it the sympathy, the regard, the prayers, the blessings, the coöperation, of all good men and women of all creeds, and of no creed, throughout the whole Christian world.

Article XXIV.

Limitations and Helps.[1]

It is our habit to talk not a little of overcoming this or that in life, on the assumption of our ability to be masters instead of being mastered. We have great confidence, we all evince great confidence, by our professions, in will power. By the capacity of electing — which we consider the truest definition of the will we have ever found — Dr. Hickock's — man often rises superior to adverse circumstances, and, by a sweeping resolve, modifies conditions to his liking.

However, the increase of knowledge demolishes the idea of

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We can go only so far and fast, as undoubted facts come to light, with such philosophers as Dr. Maudsley, who seem to think it possible to account for all human phenomena on physiological principles, as under physical limitations, presuming to root, or seeking to find the root of, religion even in physiology, as the above-named able writer essays to do, — nor will we remain stubbornly with such as ignore the data of the physical in forming estimates of human nature, and assume man's freedom as absolute, and his accountability commensurate with this liberty.

Our philosophy and theology, if true, will afford room for the free swing of all scientific and spiritual truth, — for the play of the various contributions of matter and mind. God has united material and mental forces in practical, harmonious relations and form in man himself, and we shall find that in keeping therewith there is a reconciliation to be reached on questions rising from the two components of man's make-up — questions of physics and metaphysics. E. B. Browning's outlook shall prove true:

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as, certainly, physics has done not a little in pulling down psychological structures for rebuilding. We shall discover a philosophy of such generous and consistent breadth, and depth, and height, as to ensphere the thousand differences on

which, now, to narrow vision, seem to hinge the world's peace and progress. Many minds shall prepare the way to it, and justice be done to all the facts and manifestations of the physical and spiritual as they come under finite observation, uniting theory and practice, mathematics and prayer, faith and works, intellect and emotion, science and religion. Somewhere we shall find a coördination of powers and values in these struggles between flesh and spirit, knowledge and faith.

Human nature will never be satisfied with the idea that what we call the heart is a result of fortuitous combinations or developments of matter, and that intelligence is adequately accounted for by the discovery of multiplied convolutions of brain. Nor, on the other hand, will it think long so poorly of God's mechanism of flesh and blood, as to deny that its attenuations run so manifestly into spiritual lines, that it is impossible to determine where the physical ends and the mind begins, or even whether the mind is, or ever can be, freed, or can ever be imagined as freed, from bodily connection of some physical order.

It is now assumed by some, with an array of evidence by no means insignificant, that all we can know about mind depends upon a knowledge of physiology in its largest sense. In the physical body are the registers of mind. If man is not, as the ancient philosopher affirmed he was, the measure of the universe, this later notion would seem to affirm, that, at any rate, man's body is the measure of the man. But humanity will follow intuition and consciousness, and believe that man is a great deal more than the body indicates under the most perfect microscope.

If man never can make a scientific statement, or demonstrate to the understanding, that the intuition and consciousness of a truth, or fact, we call spiritual, is a real thing in our knowledge, and that it does not depend upon physical sense; still its realization will remain among the most emphatic and positive particles of human knowledge, while the indelible impression will remain, that it came into our experience and vision, not by one or all of the senses, but by mental discern-

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as, certainly, physics has done not a little in pulling down psychological structures for rebuilding. We shall discover a philosophy of such generous and consistent breadth, and depth, and height, as to ensphere the thousand differences on

which, now, to narrow vision, seem to hinge the world's peace and progress. Many minds shall prepare the way to it, and justice be done to all the facts and manifestations of the physical and spiritual as they come under finite observation, uniting theory and practice, mathematics and prayer, faith and works, intellect and emotion, science and religion. Somewhere we shall find a coördination of powers and values in these struggles between flesh and spirit, knowledge and faith.

Human nature will never be satisfied with the idea that what we call the heart is a result of fortuitous combinations or developments of matter, and that intelligence is adequately accounted for by the discovery of multiplied convolutions of brain. Nor, on the other hand, will it think long so poorly of God's mechanism of flesh and blood, as to deny that its attenuations run so manifestly into spiritual lines, that it is impossible to determine where the physical ends and the mind begins, or even whether the mind is, or ever can be, freed, or can ever be imagined as freed, from bodily connection of some physical order.

It is now assumed by some, with an array of evidence by no means insignificant, that all we can know about mind depends upon a knowledge of physiology in its largest sense. In the physical body are the registers of mind. If man is not, as the ancient philosopher affirmed he was, the measure of the universe, this later notion would seem to affirm, that, at any rate, man's body is the measure of the man. But humanity will follow intuition and consciousness, and believe that man is a great deal more than the body indicates under the most perfect microscope.

If man never can make a scientific statement, or demonstrate to the understanding, that the intuition and consciousness of a truth, or fact, we call spiritual, is a real thing in our knowledge, and that it does not depend upon physical sense; still its realization will remain among the most emphatic and positive particles of human knowledge, while the indelible impression will remain, that it came into our experience and vision, not by one or all of the senses, but by mental discern-

ment, while no development of body or science in the least accounts for it satisfactorily.

While, then, science shall do infinitely more than old theologians and metaphysicians believed, in showing man to himself, and shall demolish thereby much fanciful theology and philosophy, yet when it assumes that it is to drive theology, psychology, and religion, either out of the domain of serious study, or upon physiological data, its delusion is too evident for debate.

Wherever speculation and unwarrantable generalizations from partial scientific data may lead, every generation will return to the consciousness that it is mind which studies, which, as it were, turns round and surveys itself, and examines its bodily casket, and constructs instruments, like the telescope and microscope, to augment the contributions of the senses to its spiritual and intellectual laboratory; while the mind's own reckoning with itself, and with other spirits, exhibits indubitable proofs that its laboratory of thought and emotion does not entirely depend upon physical sense for valuable accessions, but rather draws its very highest solvents from higher than physical sources.

This extended conviction of humanity, while, in the nature of things, having ever carried a vast amount of error and superstition with it, cannot be esteemed a total delusion, without impeaching what may be called a maxim of scientific argumentation, viz., a stream issuing from the base of a mountain, proves there is water somewhere beneath it. So this glistening current of conviction with men, that influence, life, power, knowledge, inspiration, flow down to them, and into their hearts, from sources other than the five senses, has created so peculiar a phase of history, has washed and made rich with verdure so many banks of human experience, has made its way through so many deserts of human thought, and occasioned so many oases amid the desolations of human sorrow and trial, and, withal, has borne upon its plastic, ever-moving tides, so many of the heaviest laden vessels of human concern and hope, that it can never be long seriously imag-

ined as simply an accompaniment of the infancy of the race, a dream of the world's childhood. It is a stream to-day increasing in volume, more potent than in the reputed childhood of any or all peoples, and though it cannot be mapped out in a scientific form, perhaps, it is no less a reality to our generation, than that other resistless river of life and revelation flowing like a flood through its five mouths into the gulf of the mind's yet unfathomed sea.

We find in human life more things now than have been before imagined, which man cannot overcome, — things which lie back of the will in individuality, or before it in external circumstance. We are not absolutely free. We may every day think we are. But a study of any man's history shows that where he thought himself most free, he was often most in bondage. As a profound French writer remarks: "One believes himself free, but easily sees that others are not." Appetite, cold, heat, rain, — nature in varying moods rules us, and we are, how often, thinking, feeling, and doing what, and going where, we least purposed or imagined in early morning. Then our individuality: Here we are under the peculiar stamp of our own mind, taste, tendency, temperament, and all this and that put together leave us but a relative liberty indeed.

How often the unique stamp of one's mind dictates human destiny, bending the man, and nearly all things about him, to contribute to its requirements. We see it most clearly in the lives of men of renown, who have invariably at an early age shown this or that bent of mind in so marked a degree as to stamp them with the indescribable thing called genius. But it is quite evident that not these alone, but every man has some similar primal stamp of mind which all through his career secretly modifies his life, his thought and action. We see it more distinctly in the extremes of humanity, — in the lowest and highest characters. We see it when Çimabue` of Florence, walking studiously in the fields, finds a shepherd-boy drawing his cattle on large, flat stones. The artistic faculty in this young soul was asserting its reign, making canvas

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of stones. Cimabue secured the boy's attendance at his studio, and he became the celebrated Giotto, leaving his worthy master and kind friend behind. Similar manifestations of peculiar supremacy of gift in individuality are related of all great men — a marked mental mechanism or spontaneity of vision and mastery in some direction. Queen Elizabeth's "young lord-keeper," Bacon, and Nelson, whose father said of him, he would climb to the top of the tree in whatever station placed, are examples. College records reveal many striking predispositions. Disraeli makes note, that some curious observer in examining a collection of Cambridge University poems composed by its students, remarks that "Cowley from the first was quaint, Milton sublime, and Barrow copious." There would seem really to be, what Disraeli claims, a variety of species of minds, and that all men cannot truly be resolved into a mass varying only in capacity. Each may have something of what all may possess, yet is there not what may be truly considered a diversity of mental species? The poetical genius and the mathematical cannot be said to differ so much in mental capacity as in species of mind, while each may have enough of the other's gift to link them together.

But, however this may be, we desire to remark that, predisposition of mind, or of soul as inclusive of mind and body, is as true of the middle and inferior classes of men as of the highest, and we may safely judge in the estimate of every life, that each soul has its own bias, which it can no more get rid of, than of any other combination or force it did not make or generate.

In any fair consideration, then, of the question of overcoming the world, an idea and injunction often presented in the New Testament, we cannot omit the estimate, so far as possible, of those things first overcoming man himself. This is necessary, that we may be just to ourselves, to others, to the world, to God above all. These unconquerable and limit-describing things are to be noted and deducted from the whole of things with us, that we may the more clearly see what is left for us to overcome.

And now should we attempt such a task, and start with the question, What can I overcome, and so place myself master, in some degree, of life's situation? we are sure we should find that our mastership, after all our victories, in all directions would prove to be, as first assumed, of a relative nature, and would show that we are absolute masters of little or nothing. It is important, too, to consider this, since it is of no small value, and carries with it no minor modification of the ideas of men about not only temporal affairs, but about God and immortal interests. For if we are brought face to face with this, viz., That we are and can only be relative masters of anything, we shall the better comprehend what it is which we can do, and are doing every day. And we shall see more clearly the all-important truth, that, while God allows to us, as a necessity to constitute moral creatures, a certain measure of personal liberty, he, wisely and to our eternal good, keeps to himself all circumscribing powers and liberty.

We mean, then, to say, that the chief, if not the only, power we have is that of modifying our circumstances, and that even this is infinitely less than the power outside of and above us working upon us in a thousand ways, moulding us far more than we mould ourselves or the world.

I am possessed of ability to overcome cold so far as to make my room comfortable as a day in summer. Man builds walls of protection against the elements; he calls himself master of winds and frost. He is, but not in any absolute sense, only relatively; for what he does, though very much, in modifying human condition, and civilization thereby, in our Northern latitude, is yet exceedingly small compared with that which the latitude itself effects in positively modifying, moulding, determining his habits, tastes, dress, food, in a word, his whole life. When Franklin harnessed lightning, and Morse wove a fibre of it into a coil of wire, they were masters, they had grasped an element of nature and brought it into bondage to human mind. But these grand achievements prove only a modifying power — that of subjecting only particles of natural forces to either promote or deteriorate human condition.

That last *or* indicates human freedom, but deterioration has a limit, even so far as depending on the worst that man may do. But estimating all the vast influence which our control of electricity has over our civilization — indeed, in creating our civilization in large degree — giving its influence its highest possible value, yet what is it compared with the electric currents over which man has, and can have, little or no control, traversing every nerve, hair, organism, every atom of atmosphere and water?

The influence upon man of his locality on the globe is becoming one of the great factors in the problem of a people's character and destiny. Philosophical historians are startling us with expositions of the effects of climate and surrounding objects in nature upon nations. While at their work with single eye, they may many times, beyond doubt, greatly exaggerate the potency and extent of this influence, making often unwarranted assumptions and halting generalizations, and undervaluing moral agencies, yet that they are doing a most important work, no one can deny. For if men have attributed to human depravity and a devil, on the one hand, and to human greatness and the Holy Ghost, on the other, a thousand things which God originally wrought into the natural order of things, it is most desirable to know it, and to get at the truth of things so far and fast as possible, no matter whose system or fancy vanishes.

We have, then, before us now, this overshadowing power of nature, and the complemental fact of an inherent bias of mind.

But we are not in total bondage to nature, nor to this bias of mind. There is a broad, but not unfenced, field in which man battles for victory. We have seen, in the case of Newton and Franklin, how this is in relation to nature.

But with character we are specially concerned. Has man any hand in deciding this? Yes, or he can have no moral character. But at this juncture comes up another class of influences which materialists are slow to admit, slower to examine, viz., that human conduct is what it is very often from

other influences than any, or all, of those of material nature, or the individual's choice, or mental bias. We refer to the action of God's Spirit and life, and to the influence of spiritual beings, such indeed as the extraordinary parts of the Gospel recognize, and which Spiritualists to-day claim as tangible, and which, while we have no personal experience of their real presence, we can find no reasonable ground for denying, when witnesses as good as ourselves testify to the truth of it; while as a fact that such things have been, he who takes the New Testament for an instructor, finds angels at Jesus' sepulchre, and many like interviews of immortals with mortals. And thus if it shall prove that such is now the case, the extraordinary rise of Christianity is substantiated rather than invalidated, — its influence promoted rather than curtailed, when once the giddiness consequent on this discovery shall have passed away.

Then, besides this positive action of God's Spirit and the immortals upon the shaping of human conduct, there is the similar power of human beings all about us. We are now, it should be remembered, as truly spirits to each other as we ever shall be, — not so attenuated and expansive in our feelings, sympathies, and discernments, now, as we doubtless shall be, but yet as much spiritual beings now as we ever shall be. And we know full well, how an influence goes out from one to another of us, which we can no more control than we can the sun's heat. Here, then, we find God's Spirit, so-called departed spirits, and human spirits, exerting, we know not in how many ways, incalculable influence upon humanity, upon the individual's career. We are to give these, then, as we gave the influences of physical nature and mental bias, a place in all our estimates of what shapes human history, of how far man is responsible for his destiny on earth or in eternity.

Putting them all together, and noting how extensively they bear upon individual and collective humanity, we may at first feel that it is equal to depriving us of all liberty, and reducing each to a cipher in the vast whole of creation. But not

so. There is individual potency. If we are acted upon, we can everywhere see how there is reaction upon the actors. Each has his unit of influence and freedom. Each has his atom of personal force which he may use to his own election. After calculating all sensible and insensible influences acting upon and in man, there is a residuum of each soul's peculiar ability, distinctness of will and spirit. Giving this its greatest value, we, notwithstanding, see how each man is the focus of an incalculable array of influences, which are constantly acting upon his daily destiny, converging to produce the more than half of all his opinions, thoughts, and acts, in spite of himself.

Our great consolation, in view of this, is that God is good, and that the aggregate of the influence of the universe upon a soul, and the discipline of a soul within its limits of freedom, with the all-penetrating life and love of the Father, insure its ultimate holiness and happiness; that precisely where man's limitations seem to cramp him, and his destiny is taken out of his hands, there his helps from a compassionate and benevolent God spring into positive action. We may do much for ourselves, God does infinitely more. "Our sufficiency is of God."

ARTICLE XXV.

Recent German Literature.

PROF. DR. BEYSCHLAG, one of the collaborators of the *Studien und Kritiken*, devotes one of a series of lectures on the Christian Faith and Literature, to the Resurrection of Christ, with especial reference to Strauss' New Life of Jesus.[1] Notwithstanding some apparent discrepancies in the Gospel accounts of the resurrection of Christ, in which accounts his

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bodily appearance seems to be distinctly declared, the church has always held firmly to the doctrine of an actual corporeal resurrection. During the last century doubts arose, and several new theories were advanced. The unknown author of the celebrated Wolfenbütel Fragments maintained that the story rested on no better basis than a deception by the disciples who stole the body from the sepulchre. The rationalists declared for a swoon, and against the actual death of Christ, supporting their position by the shortness of the time upon the cross, &c. But the serious objections urged against both these hypotheses have compelled their abandonment, and Strauss has put forth the vision-hypothesis which is now claimed to be widely received, having been helped along by both Renan and Schenkel. According to this view, the event of the resurrection was not an external, but an internal and psychological phenomenon. All the appearances of Christ are not real, but visions. So Paul, 1 Cor. xv., connects the resurrection with his vision of Christ. It is claimed that the appearance as recorded has a visionary look, which is rather enhanced by the circumstance that the faith in the resurrection originated with women. It is the purpose of Dr. Beyschlag's lecture to demonstrate the untenableness of the vision-hypothesis. To this work he goes with great precision and admirable calmness, advancing rather on philological than theological ground. Being himself a moderate conservative of the "mediating" tendency, he enjoys an advantage in not feeling himself called upon to defend too much. He readily grants that the Gospel accounts of the resurrection leave much to be desired in clearness and connectedness; but he shows how this very circumstance militates against the vision-hypothesis. While claiming for John's record all the evidences of an eye-witness, he waives the question of the credibility of the fourth Gospel, and adheres to Paul (1 Cor. xv. 3–8), whom even Strauss does not hesitate to accept as a reliable authority. He brings a telling argument against the vision-hypothesis from the fact that Paul's experience at Damascus was no vision. And yet further, he says: "If we

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even assume that the whole Christianity of Saul may have originated in an illusion, that he may have been and was deceived in that appearance at Damascus; — would it therefore be proved or made possible, that the appearances of Christ in the days immediately following his death were an illusion? How great a difference must ever remain between the testimony of Paul, and that of the older apostles and early believers, which we reeceive through him." Furthermore, how should the disciples arrive by visions to the thought that the Saviour had arisen? Our author maintains that the idea of an isolated resurrection before the "last day" was so foreign to the disciples, and to the whole Jewish people, that in case they had had visions of Christ, they would have concluded that his soul still lived in heaven, perhaps even furnished with an ethereal body, but never that his former body had come forth from the grave. The conclusion to which Dr. Beyschlag arrives is that "the faith of the disciples in the resurrection of Jesus could demonstrably have arisen in no other way than through the fact, through the miracle, of the resurrection."

It would appear, however, that Dr. Beyschlag has failed to to reach the real point in debate, if the position of his opponents were, that while the disciples were made certain that their Master was still alive, and enjoyed visions of his appearance, they never themselves believed in his bodily resurrection; but that this doctrine afterwards arose as the sensible and outward expression — most acceptable to the popular mind — of what to them was only internal and spiritual. But as the Evangelists unequivocally declare that Christ appeared in the body, it is evident that this view can only be defended on the ground that no one of the Gospels, in its present form, is the work of a disciple.[2]

"The Gospel of the Gospels." Under this novel title Dr. Thenius attempts a defence of the fourth Gospel, claiming

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that it is the production of the Apostle John, the true Chief Gospel, "the Gospel of the Gospels."[3] This is another work of a liberal theologian in opposition to the "New Life of Jesus." Dr. Thenius, considering the external evidences as presented by Tischendorf and others, as dubious, and the question of miracles as unnecessary to the discussion, lays both these aside, and proceeds to answer the objections raised by Strauss against the Gospel on internal grounds, and to show the evidences it contains of being the work of an eye-witness.

Strauss objects that the fourth Gospel could not have been written by an Apostle, because the author betrays an ignorance of the circumstances and regulations of Palestine, which could not belong to an Apostle. Thenius replies that all the passages adduced by Strauss in proof of this position (i. 28; v. 2 ff; ix. 7; xi. 49, 51; xviii. 1, 13.), are to be referred in part to corrupt readings or interpolations, and in part do not contain the error maintained. The several passages in which Strauss finds evidences of a later origin, are critically examined and found to contain no such indications. Then such difficult questions as these are propounded to the negative critics: Is it to be supposed that the author of the fourth Gospel, if he wrote in the middle of the second century, could have kept himself so entirely above the excited controversies of the church parties of that period, as he has done according to the Confession of the Tübingen School? Can it be explained that the fourth Gospel shows no traces of the influence of the peculiar doctrine of Paul — justification by faith — if it was written at a time when the Epistles of Paul had enjoyed a wide circulation in the church for more than one hundred years? In opposition to the view of Strauss that the fourth Gospel is full of fabrications, and far inferior to the Synoptics in historical credibility, Thenius adduces passages which show that the account of the fourth Gospel is in

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many cases the correct one, as John i. 37 ff, compared with Matt. iv. 21 ff, and the further consideration that according to the fourth Gospel Jesus fulfilled a longer and more active ministry in Jerusalem than according to the Synoptics.

Several peculiarities of the Gospel are noticed as weighing in favor of its authenticity: 1. The accurate designations of time even to the hour (i. 29, 35; iv. 6, &c.). 2. The exact determinations of place (i. 28; ii. 12; iii. 23, &c.). 3. The introduction of particular circumstances (x. 22, 23; xi. 20, 28, 29; xii. 6, &c.). 4. The characteristic sayings of Christ not elsewhere preserved (iii. 16; xiv. 24, 34; vi. 44, and many others). While all these facts point to the authorship of an eye-witness, Dr. Thenius is of opinion that though John was practically the author, yet the Gospel in its present form is from the hand of a disciple of the Apostle, whose occasional remarks are to be found scattered through the work, and who added a still later note of John's (xxi. 1–22), and a final word of his own. Dr. Thenius' conclusions agree in the main with those of Dr. J. F. Clarke in his able defence of the fourth Gospel, in the *Christian Examiner* for January, 1868.

SCHENKEL'S "PROTESTANT FREEDOM." This book was called out by the severe and impatient criticism with which the author's *Charakterbild Jesu* was attacked, and by some apparent tendencies toward intolerance in the German Protestant Church.[4] To the former is perhaps to be traced the passion, and to the latter the eloquent earnestness, of his pages. He claims, however, to rise above all considerations and interests of a personal nature, and to treat the subject in its relations to the general good of the church. Thus he says in his preface to the first edition: "The contest connected with the *Charakterbild Jesu* has long ceased to be my personal affair; or rather, it was never such. Whether the Protestant Church will go in the way of the pontifical Encyclical of the 8th of December, 1864, or whether freedom of conscience, of investigation, of doctrine, and of life, shall be maintained for it in

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In his first chapter, entitled "The Ecclesiastical Reaction," Dr. Schenkel sets forth in general terms the dangers to religious liberty which appear in the present condition of the church, Protestant as well as Catholic. The Catholic Church, which, under the influence of the clearing-up period of the first part of the present century, made professions of favor toward the elements of culture and progress, he represents as now assuming towards them, more than ever, an attitude of determined hostility. This opposition, which is led by the Jesuits, he discloses in its systematic working as pursuing the following ends: First, To bring the State government as much as possible under the influence of the priests, and make it subservient to the interests of the Catholic Church. Second,

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To cause the sciences to be taught in accordance with Catholic doctrines. Third, To withdraw the domestic life of the Catholics as much as possible from the influence of the Protestant spirit. Fourth, To give to the entire social life an ecclesiastical direction and cultivation. Toward the accomplishment of these purposes he sees the Jesuit party pushing on with most consummate skill and complete organization, animated with a hatred of all that stands in their way, keeping wide and deep the chasm that separates them from Protestantism, reviving the spirit of persecution, asserting a worldly power over the marriage relation, and striving to destroy that mighty engine which must discomfit and destroy them as long as it endures — the Free Press. Within the Protestant Church he recognizes the same dangerous tendency, in the effort to set up an ecclesiasticism "filled with the Roman Catholic spirit," in the enhancement of the official dignity of the clergy, "whereby is brought into Protestantism the essentially Catholic establishment of the middle ages," and in the obstinate adherence to the formula of the old traditions. "We cannot," he says, "be deceived in this, that within Protestantism itself, the question now is one of existence or non-existence — of nothing less than whether the fundamental truths of the Reformation shall be abandoned, or whether they shall be more energetically and decidedly maintained than hitherto."

The second chapter, "The Ecclesiastical Restoration in Baden," gives an account of the effort of the Orthodox party, in the General Synod of 1855, to restore the old confession and reënforce it with the sanction of ecclesiastical law. This synod issued the "New Catechism," and the "New Churchbook," and passed a law limiting the right of election of elders by the churches, and for the strengthening of the power of the Consistory. The point aimed at by its whole policy was to restrict the interpretation of Scripture within the limits of the Orthodox confession. It was to repudiate the free investigation of Scripture, — a policy which Dr. Schenkel justly declares to be a rejection of Protestantism itself. Besides, it is destructive of the highest interests of religious

truth. "The true contents of Scripture can only be ascertained by the application of free investigation in its interpretation. If the freedom of Scripture investigation is restricted, as is the case in the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Protestant Churches, there is no longer any hope of educing the true contents of Scripture. If the right of free investigation is set aside, Scripture then ceases to be a source of truth, because its historical worth, and therefore its positive basis, has been taken away. It is no longer searched in order to win from it the truth of salvation in greater purity than hitherto, but false interpretations are educed so as to bring it as much as possible into harmony with the traditional doctrines. But that is only possible when unhistorical violence is done as well to the letter as to the spirit of Scripture. Dogmatic presuppositions, and not the conscience that is true to criticism and to history, then form the point of view of the expositor, who has already found beforehand what he professedly seeks." (S. 38.)

But against this unprotestant proceeding, the spirit of the Reformation, not yet extinguished in the breasts of the people, was aroused in something of its ancient might, and "the question found a Protestant solution." In the third chapter, "Struggle and Victory of the Evangelical Free Tendency," is given the history of the counter movement of the churches in opposition to the Synod. The contest was kindled by the new "Church-book." "The conscience of the church" immediately recognized, "with wonderful tact," the "hierarchical character" of the book. The cry became: "They will make us Catholics!" The men of the free tendency, both of the clergy and laity, assembled. The anti-protestant policy of the Orthodox party failed of popular support, and the independent position of the church in reference to its internal affairs was acknowledged and secured by the proclamation of the Grand Duke, guaranteeing "a Free Church in a Free State." This triumph is characterized as the "victory of conscience, asserting its freedom from the yoke of theological formulas of doctrine and clerical rules of faith."

The remaining ten chapters are devoted to a defence of the author's positions assumed in the *Charakterbild Jesu.* In the fifth chapter, "The Contest about Christ," he justifies the Humanitarian point of view as the only one from which it is possible to construct a Portrait of the Character of Jesus. His conception of character, whether correct or not, certainly answers well his purpose: "Character is incontestably the most human thing in man; it signifies not what man has become by birth and endowment, but by moral self-determination and from freedom; it constitutes, as a self-acquired property, his distinguishing peculiarity from other men. Jesus Christ, as the temporal manifestation of the eternal personality of the Logos, as 'God walking on the earth,' possesses, according to the nature of the thing, no character. Character is finitely determined, individually limited, morally acquired, won in the struggle and toil of life." Hence the conclusion that a *Charakterbild* of Christ cannot be formed except on the assumption of a purely human development! But few will be able to see, even granting the above definition, how the admission of supernatural qualities and divine inspiration must exclude character. In defending himself against the charge of denying the authority of Scripture, the author takes essentially the position of Dr. Tholuck. In reply to the charge that he rejected the Christian miracles, he defines thus: "We recognize as miracles those workings of God upon nature which cannot be comprehended from known laws of nature. They are supernatural, but not anti-natural." Christ performed no miracles inconsistent with his true humanity. "Miracles of omnipotence lay beyond his sphere of power, and where such are related of him, as changing of water and bread, stilling the storm, &c., *they are to be referred to a legendary embellishment of a real event.*" "The changing of the water of the trivial talk of a wedding party, into the noble wine of soul-kindling conversation"! "The feeding of the souls of the multitude"! The stilling of "the waves of doubt" — of "the storms of the passions"! In his general theory of the Christian miracles, Dr. Schenkel assumes the

grounds of Schleiermacher; but in his deductions he does violence to the spirit, and ignores the principles, of his teacher. With what remorseless severity would that great master of criticism have treated such uncritical trivialities as the above!

With Dr. Schenkel's principles of Protestant Freedom, no true Protestant will be in conflict; but it becomes another question, when by uncritical assumptions, one protests away the vital truths of the New Testament, and the essential dignity of Christ.

GENERAL REVIEW.

The Sibylline Oracles.

THE Sibyls were heathen prophetesses, supposed to be inspired by one or more of the ancient gods, and thus gifted, or, more properly, *compelled* to foretell future events. Among the Greeks and Romans they were held in much esteem, and their predictions received with reverence and unquestioning faith by the multitude. Certain books containing the Oracles, or prophecies, of these sibyls, were preserved with great care in the capitol by the Roman government, subject only to the inspection of special officers under the direction of the Senate.

Influenced by the great veneration in which these productions of the sibyls were held, some over-zealous Christian, or Christians, forged several books of Oracles in Greek verse, about A. D. 120–150, into which were woven some of the leading facts of the Old and New Testament histories, in the form of prophecies by these sibyls; one of whom is represented as claiming to be a daughter-in-law of Noah, and as having been with him in the ark. Among the particulars drawn from the New Testament, are the birth, baptism, death and resurrection of Christ, together with many details respecting his life, miracles and doctrines. These oracles also treat, with a flowing pen, of the final conflagration of the world, of the thousand years' reign of Christ on the earth, of a general judgment, of the purification of the saints by fire, of the joys of the righteous, and of the punishments of the wicked, and their final deliverance from these.

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The object of this forgery was to persuade the pagans to embrace Christianity, by showing them that their own most venerated prophetesses had foretold all these things; and that, therefore, if they believed their own oracles, they were bound, in order to be consistent, to accept the Gospel as a divinely authorized religion.

The only value which attaches to these pretended oracles of the Sibyl, is the fact that they show us what were the probably current opinions of Christians at the time they were forged. For example — if the doctrine of the final restoration of the wicked is incorporated into these oracles, it is fair to conclude that at the period named, A. D. 120–150, this was an acknowledged doctrine of the Christian Church. Of course, if the ultimate cessation of the torments of the wicked was one of the doctrines to which Christians sought to convert the heathen, it was a Christian doctrine. And if it had not been regarded as a doctrine of the Church, and of the Scriptures; if it had not been the belief of the leading teachers in the Church, we should certainly find some protest against it on their part. Nay, this portion of the work would have been expunged on its first appearance, or subsequently, by those having authority in the Church.

So far from this, the Oracles are quoted and approved by Justin Martyr, the Apostolic Constitutions, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Theophilus of Antioch, Athenagoras, Augustine,[1] Lactantius, Eusebius, and others, not one of whom casts the slightest censure upon their Universalism. We do not, therefore, say that *all* these accepted the doctrine; but this much we do say, that Universalism at this period was manifestly *not* regarded as heresy, but held high place in the Church — and that, too, before we have any positive assertion, as the belief of the Church, of endless punishment, then so generally received among the heathen. And it is a notable fact, that while endless punishment was a dogma of the popular heathen belief, these Oracles declare the restoration of the wicked as a part of the new religion to which the heathen are to be converted — *and this restoration to be granted by God at the special request of the righteous.*

There is a translation of the Sibylline Oracles by "Sir John Floyer, Knight," in which the passage quoted by Dr. Ballou in the

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"Ancient History of Universalism" (chap. ii. § 3.), is so rendered as to shut out the doctrine, and give an entirely different meaning to the language. The translator contends that the Oracles are not forgeries, but the genuine ancient prophecies, and as truly inspired as those of the Bible. And in answering the objections made to his position, he has the following: "*Objection* 5. That the *Sibyls* held some opinion of Origen's, That the wicked should be delivered from torment after some ages. *Answer.* This is a mistake, for the *Sibyls* say no such thing, but the contrary." In order to sustain this view of the matter, he translates the passage toward the end of Book II., as follows:

"The Almighty and Incorruptible God shall grant this also to the Righteous, when they shall pray to him, that he will preserve *them* from the pernicious fire and everlasting gnashing of teeth; and this he will do when he gathers the Faithful from the eternal fire, placing them in another region, he shall send them by his own angels into another life, which will be eternal to them that are immortal, in the Elysian fields, where are the large waters of the eternal Acherusian Lake which is deep." [2]

The exceeding awkwardness and inconsistency of this translation betrays its dishonesty, and is in marked contrast with the elegant rendering by Dr. Ballou. The point especially to be noted is that where the latter says, "he shall save *mankind* from the pernicious fires and immortal agonies," Floyer renders it, "he shall preserve *them* (the righteous) from the pernicious fire," &c. Seeing this important difference in the translations, we turned to the original to ascertain which had strained a point in order to fortify his argument, and found the Greek as follows:

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definition given to ἀνθρώπος is "all mankind, the whole world" (Liddel & Scott). For example, Herodotus has μαντηία μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώπους "the only oracle among men"; i. e. mankind, all men; or, as the Lexicographers above named render it, "in the world" i. 53. So we have ηκιστα ανθρωπων, "the least of men, or of mankind," meaning the race; and many other like forms, showing the usage.

It is obvious enough, therefore, that the doctrine of the Oracles is that, at the request of the Righteous, God will finally deliver the Wicked from the torments of the everlasting fires of hell; the term "everlasting" being used as by Clement, Origen and other Universalists of the early church, to signify indefinite, and not endless duration.

And this manifest fact is certified to by all scholars having no theory to maintain. Musardus, in his history of the heathen gods of prophecy, oracles and sibyls, says the author of the Oracles "dicit damnatos liberandos postquam pœnas infernales per aliquot secula erunt perpessi, qui Origenis fuit error," &c. — i. e. that the damned shall be liberated after suffering punishment for some ages.[3] So Opsopœus states that the Oracles declare that "impii gehennæ supplicio addicti post certi temporis metas et peccatorum per dolores expiationem, ex pœnis liberentur. Quæ sententia fuit Origenis," &c. — i. e. "that the wicked, suffering in hell, after a certain length of time, and through expiatory pains, would be released from punishments."[4]

Blondel in his work, or rather Davies in his English translation of it, seems to take the same view, though he gives the passage in review a somewhat singular turn: "The almighty and incorruptible God will give men *the power to save themselves* from the burning fire, and eternal gnashings of teeth," &c.[5] Whether the French of Blondel

[3] Historia Deorum Fatidicorum, Vatum, Sibyllarum, Phœbadum, apud Priscos illustrium: cum eorum Iconibus. Præposita est dissertatio de Divinatione et Oraculis. Coloniæ Allobrogium. 1675. p. 184.

[4] Notes to his Edition of the Sibylline Oracles, p. 27. The title is Σιβυλλιακοι Κρησμοι, hoc est Sibyllina Oracula, exuett. codd. aucta, renovata, et notis illustrata a D. Johanne Opsopœo Brettano. Cum interpretatione Latina Sebastiani Castalionis et Indice. Parisiis. 1607 — the same collection, if not the same edition, used by Dr. Ballou.

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It is the more important that this question should be settled, for the reason that the Oracles describe the punishments of the wicked in the most fearful language; the words "eternal," "unquenchable," "immortal," &c., being freely applied to them in the original. If, therefore, at the same time, they teach that these punishments will come to an end, it helps us to get at the real value of these words when employed in this connection; and fortifies the argument that the dogma of endless punishment cannot be demonstrated by the use of such terms in the New Testament.

Unitarian Mission in India.

Our Unitarian friends are urging the importance of their India Mission. Of this we are glad, for we have followed its history and growth from the beginning with increasing interest; fully believing that, if it were generously sustained by the wealth of the denomination, it was destined to do a great and beneficent work both among the educated, and among the ignorant masses, of that historic land. It is matter of wonder that Mr. Dall can accomplish so much, and such various, work with such slender means; and he could not, if he were not a man of the true missionary spirit, losing himself and all personal interests in his work.

He has in full operation the following Schools in connection with his mission — 1. The Mission School. 2. The Vernacular School. 3. The School of Useful Arts. 4. Hindoo-Girls' School. 5. The Mary-Carpenter Ragged School. 6. An English-Boys' School — all

definition given to ἀνθρώπος is "all mankind, the whole world" (Liddel & Scott). For example, Herodotus has μαντηία μοῦνα ἐν ἀνθρώποις "the only oracle among men"; i. e. mankind, all men; or, as the Lexicographers above named render it, "in the world" i. 53. So we have ηκιστα ανθρωπων, "the least of men, or of mankind," meaning the race; and many other like forms, showing the usage.

It is obvious enough, therefore, that the doctrine of the Oracles is that, at the request of the Righteous, God will finally deliver the Wicked from the torments of the everlasting fires of hell; the term "everlasting" being used as by Clement, Origen and other Universalists of the early church, to signify indefinite, and not endless duration.

And this manifest fact is certified to by all scholars having no theory to maintain. Musardus, in his history of the heathen gods of prophecy, oracles and sibyls, says the author of the Oracles "dicit damnatos liberandos postquam pœnas infernales per aliquot secula erunt perpessi, qui Origenis fuit error," &c. — i. e. that the damned shall be liberated after suffering punishment for some ages.[3] So Opsopœus states that the Oracles declare that "impii gehennæ supplicio addicti post certi temporis metas et peccatorum per dolores expiationem, ex pœnis liberentur. Quæ sententia fuit Origenis," &c. — i. e. "that the wicked, suffering in hell, after a certain length of time, and through expiatory pains, would be released from punishments."[4]

Blondel in his work, or rather Davies in his English translation of it, seems to take the same view, though he gives the passage in review a somewhat singular turn: "The almighty and incorruptible God will give men *the power to save themselves* from the burning fire, and eternal gnashings of teeth," &c.[5] Whether the French of Blondel

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superintended and supported by this indefatigable laborer. In addition to these, Mr. Dall has a daily service at which he reads and explains the Gospels to a class of more than two hundred and fifty young men, who commit to memory portions of the record, and engage in familiar conversation on the lesson of the day. The course he pursues of making the school the vestibule of the church, or the handmaid of religion, is beginning to challenge attention for the eminent success which has attended his labors; and the missionaries of other sects are fast coming into his views, and imitating his methods.

Beside those who are directly reached by these schools and the preaching of Mr. Dall, there is another interesting portion of the more cultivated classes, who are coming within the sphere of his influence. Our readers will remember that we gave, in the January *Quarterly*, a somewhat lengthy account of a religious society in India known by the name of the *Brahmo Samajh*. Of this sect the Unitarian "Monthly Journal" speaks as below in connection with their mission:

"There are very many, among the most intelligent class in India, who have renounced caste idolatry; have come to a belief in God; and are ready to be brought to the light of the Gospel, if only it can be presented to them free of the doctrine of a Trinity, and other theories which their reason cannot accept. The Bramo Samaj (or Vedic theists), numbering, in Bengal alone, fifty thousand young, earnest men, are the foremost among this class. They are, indeed, still groping blindly, and are perhaps nearer to Pantheism than to Christianity now; but they are earnestly inquiring. They read Rammohun Roy and other Christian writings; and some of them are not far behind Rammohun Roy himself in their appreciation of Jesus Christ. Mr. Dall has much intercourse with leading men of this class. He lends them books, and he often receives letters which prove the interest they have in our views. Evidently enough (and this is confessed by many Orthodox missionaries), the Unitarian form of Christianity is the only form which they are likely to accept. These Orthodox missionaries, in confessing this, do not intend it as complimentary to Unitarianism, but rather as an illustration of the meagreness of our faith. But when we have read some of the religious discourses of these Brahmo upon the divine precepts of Jesus, we have, on the other hand, felt like echoing the words of one of them who, after recounting the story of Christ's life and the beauty of his example and teachings, said, in answer to a supposed objector on account of the shortcomings of professed Christian disciples, 'Do not let the loveliness of Jesus' character, and the purity of his doctrine, receive prejudice in your minds from the impurity of the life of

those who call themselves by his name, or by the absurdity of the doctrines which they teach. Perhaps the time will come when it will be seen that we are more truly his followers than they.'"

The agent of the Association justly acknowledges that the Baptist and Orthodox missions have made the world their debtors by what they have done for scholarship, through their acquaintance with the languages of the people to whom they have been sent; and suggests the wisdom and the duty of furnishing such help to their India mission. We heartily endorse his appeal. This is the thing we have long desired, and we hope to live to see the desire realized — Unitarian-Universalist Missionaries who shall have the patience, diligence and courage to thoroughly master the language and literature of India — the ancient Sanscrit and the living tongues of to-day — and thus furnished, to enter the fields of labor opened to them, and, on the one hand, give us an accurate and reliable statement of the ancient Vedic doctrines, and of the modern beliefs; and, on the other, present to the native population the grand and beautiful doctrines of Jesus, not only in their primitive purity, but illustrated and enforced with such varied learning and earnest eloquence, as to arrest and compel the attention of all classes, educated and ignorant, high and low — this fairly tried, and then let us see what will come of it.

Sermons of the Olden Time.

Among the collection of ancient and curious documents, mentioned in previous numbers, we find one with the following title:

"A SERMON, wherein is Showed, I. That the Ministers of the Gospel need and ought to desire the *Prayers* of the Lord's People for them. II. That the People of GOD ought to *Pray* for His Ministers.

Preached at *Roxbury*, October 29, 1718. When Mr. *Thomas Walter* was Ordained a Pastor in that Church by his Grand-Father, *Increase Mather*, D. D.

Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, for J. Edwards, at his Shop, next door to the Lighthouse Tavern, in King-Street, 1718."

The sermon is marked by sincere piety and humility, and is full of excellent suggestions and Christian counsels for both churches and ministers, of whom "above twenty" from the surrounding parishes were present. It is wrought out from the *text*, and the duty of a

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"In my Younger Years I was *Three times* brought to the Gates of the Grave, by dangerous Feavers which proved mortal to some. But the loving People among whom I have been Preaching the Gospel above Seven and Fifty Years, set Days apart to beg my Life at the Hands of God. The last time that I was visited with an acute disease, which is now above Four and Thirty Years since, the Church desired Blessed Mr. *Eliot* to assist them in Prayer to God. I shall never forget the words of Faith which he then expressed to me when the Publick Exercises of the Day were finished, he came to me in my Sick Chamber with these words, *Blessed be God you are ours still, you shall not dye by this Sickness.* He was perswaded God had some further Service for me to do for Christ and for His Churches in *New-England*, before He would take me out of this World. And now behold I that was looked upon as a dying Man above Thirty, may Nine and Forty Years ago, having obtained help from God through the Prayers of His People, continue to this Day, and have lived so long as that I cannot, I do not desire any Friend I have in the World, to Pray that I may live one day longer. I have great reason to say with Old Simeon, *Now Lord lettest thou thy Servant depart in Peace.* Only Pray that while it shall be the pleasure of the Almighty to detain me here, I may continue serviceable to Christ and to the Souls of Men."

Dr. Mather urges prayers for the ministers of the Gospel, because they "are more exposed to Temptation than any other men in the World." He says, "the Devil hates them above all other Men, for he knows they are the greatest destroyers of his kingdom. The Thunder of the Gospel has caused Satan to fall like lightning. And therefore it is not to be wondered at, if the Devil has a peculiar spite at the Preachers of it." . . . . "If there is a Minister that the wickedest of Men cry him up, we may conclude that he has not been faithful in bearing witness against the sins of the time." On the other hand, the faithful minister will be cried down by wicked men. "We often see that if there is a Tree in our Orchards, that has better Fruit on it than others, many sticks and stones will be thrown at it. If there is a minister that is more useful and fruitful than his Neighbors, he shall be sure to have many stones thrown at him." The preacher, and his son, Cotton Mather, who gave the Right-hand of

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"*MY Brethren*: How *Hard* is our *Work*, When *Legions* of *Devils* are continually falling upon us, with Various and Furious *Temptations*, to Defeat or to Revenge the Damage which we do unto their *Kingdom* in the World! Can any Man be set upon a *Pinacle of the Temple*, and not be assaulted with Singular *Temptations* there? Can any Man shine among the *Stars* of Heaven, that are the *Light of the Earth*, and feel no Strokes and Stings from the *Tail of the Dragon* there? But at the same time, to be encumbred with a *Flesh* that Sides with *Satan*, and is an Enemy to every part of the *Work!* What *Assistences* are needful, that such a *Work* may be carried on as it ought to be!"

Both Increase and Cotton Mather speak of the youth of Mr. Walter, "so young as the *Canons* would not allow him to be ordained," and so "those Canons were dispensed with." And his people are intreated to pray for him on this account, and to beseech God that he might be "like the Renowned *Eliot*, who has by some been called the *American Apostle*, and who served Christ in the Work of the Gospel Threescore Years in this Church."

Another of these pamphlets bears the following ample and descriptive title:

"ELIJAH'S *Mantle*. A Faithful *Testimony* to the *Cause* and *Work* of GOD in the *Churches* of *New-England*. And the Great End and Interest of these Plantations, Dropt and Left by *Four* Servants of *God*, Famous in the Service of the Churches.

Highly *Seasonable* to be Offered unto the People, now succeeding in the *New-English* Colonies, for their serious Consideration.

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The object of the pamphlet is to bear testimony against "the *Lording Episcopacy*, and Men's Inventions, such as *Prelacy*, imposed *Liturgies*, Humane *Ceremonies* in the Worship of *God*, and the admission of *Ignorant* and *Scandalous* Persons to the Lord's Table"; and to assert the fact that the fathers left their homes, came over the sea, and settled in the wilderness of America, solely that they might "*profess* and *practice* and *enjoy*, with undisturbed Liberty, the *Holy Religion* of *God* our *Savior*, exhibited in the *Scriptures*, and reformed

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and rescued from the *Inventions* and *Abuses*, which the *Man of Sin* has introduced, and be evermore *Loyal* to the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and faithful to the *Second Commandment*."

The Testimonies consist of extracts from four eminent servants of the Lord and the Church. I. "The Great End and Interest of New England — Stated by the Memorable Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*, extracted from an Instrument of His, which bears date, Decemb. 31, 1662." II. "The Cause of God and His People in *New England;* Stated in a *Sermon* of the Memorable Mr. *John Higginson*, unto the General Court of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, May 27, 1663." III. "New England's True Interest; further Declared in the Words of the Hon. *William Stoughton*, Esq.; in a *Sermon* preached by Him, (in the Audience of the *General Court*, April 1668.) when he was a Preacher of the *Gospel* at *Dorchester*. From which he was called successively to many Stations of the highest Figure in the *Civil Government;* and when he died was *Commander in Chief* of the *Province*." IV. "The Testimony Finished, By Dr. *Increase Mather*."

We have given all the titles in full for the benefit of antiquarians, and of all who are curiously inquiring into the early ecclesiastical history of our State. If our space permitted we should be pleased to give copious extracts from these authors, all of whom deplore, and rebuke with great earnestness and solemnity, the corruptions in the Churches, and the inclination of very many, even at this early date, to return "to the *Onions* and *Garlick of Egypt again*" — Egypt being the Episcopacy. As it is, we can give place to only one quotation, and that from Dr. Mather. He says, "Having now reviewed the Harmonious Testimony of these three *Worthies* in our Israel, I do now, with my *Dying Hand*, sign my Concurrence thereunto. I am now in the 84th Year of my Age, and under a Feebleness in the *Valley of the shadow of Death*, wherein the Lord is a Light unto me; and I am Every Hour waiting and longing for my *Dismission* to a Better World." After giving in his testimony, he proceeds as follows:

"It is now accordingly the DYING WISH, of One that has been about Threescore and Six Years, after a poor manner, but I hope, with some Sincerity, serving the best of Masters, in the blessed Work of the Gospel; That the CHURCHES may *Stand fast* in the *Faith and Order of the Gospel*, and *hold fast* what they have received, and *Let no Man take away their Crown;* And, that the PASTORS would more Distinctly from time to time, and with proper Inculca-

tions, acquaint the *Churches* with their *True Interest;* and those Things which will be their *Beauty* and their *Safety.* And considering the Relation which I have heretofore sustained as a *President* for Twenty Years, it is highly proper for *me* to leave it as also my more particular Desire, that the *Tutors* in our COLLEGES, from whence the *Churches* expect their *Supplies*, would see to have the *Students* well informed in the Points, which they must Know and Serve, that so the WORK of GOD among us may not be marr'd by falling into Unskilful and Unfaithful Hands."

The pamphlet finishes with a passage, bearing on the general theme of "Humane Inventions" in Religion, extracted from "a Letter to the Famous *Dury* (?), composed in elegant Latin by the Renowned Mr. *Norton*, and Subscribed by more than Forty Ministers of the Gospel, (some of them very Famous Men) in the Churches of *New England.*"

Religious World.

In the last *Quarterly* we mentioned the case of a correspondent of the *English Independent* asking the editor whether it was lawful and right to fellowship Universalists. This inquiry brings out another correspondent who confesses the need there is of having this question, and the whole subject involved, fairly and satisfactorily settled. Among other things he has the following, which it is pleasant to read as evidence of the growth of Universalism among the Dissenters as well as in the Church of England:

"The number of thoughtful men and women who unobtrusively hold these or related opinions, and 'trust the larger hope,' is already great (so far as I can judge from the phenomena of a limited experience of what is occurring in the general Church), and is continually becoming greater. If required to give a definite expression of belief, they will not be afraid to do so; but as a rule they prefer to consider the subject as belonging to the region of that 'higher faith' which many even of true Christians are not yet prepared to enter, and therefore speak upon it only to such as they deem able to receive their words without offence. As it is unquestionable that these views with regard to future discipline and its duration are thoughtfully and honestly entertained, the objection as to whether they agree with a strictly *literal* rendering of Scripture cannot be raised. We have only to do with the moral sincerity of those who hold them, and must therefore assume that they have been received with full and intelligent consideration of all that the Bible says. The real questions

and rescued from the *Inventions* and *Abuses*, which the *Man of Sin* has introduced, and be evermore *Loyal* to the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and faithful to the *Second Commandment*."

The Testimonies consist of extracts from four eminent servants of the Lord and the Church. I. "The Great End and Interest of New England — Stated by the Memorable Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel*, extracted from an Instrument of His, which bears date, Decemb. 31, 1662." II. "The Cause of God and His People in *New England*; Stated in a *Sermon* of the Memorable Mr. *John Higginson*, unto the General Court of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, May 27, 1663." III. "New England's True Interest; further Declared in the Words of the Hon. *William Stoughton*, Esq.; in a *Sermon* preached by Him, (in the Audience of the *General Court*, April 1668.) when he was a Preacher of the *Gospel* at *Dorchester*. From which he was called successively to many Stations of the highest Figure in the *Civil Government*; and when he died was *Commander in Chief* of the *Province*." IV. "The Testimony Finished, By Dr. *Increase Mather*."

We have given all the titles in full for the benefit of antiquarians, and of all who are curiously inquiring into the early ecclesiastical history of our State. If our space permitted we should be pleased to give copious extracts from these authors, all of whom deplore, and rebuke with great earnestness and solemnity, the corruptions in the Churches, and the inclination of very many, even at this early date, to return "to the *Onions* and *Garlick of Egypt again*" — Egypt being the Episcopacy. As it is, we can give place to only one quotation, and that from Dr. Mather. He says, "Having now reviewed the Harmonious Testimony of these three *Worthies* in our Israel, I do now, with my *Dying Hand*, sign my Concurrence thereunto. I am now in the 84th Year of my Age, and under a Feebleness in the *Valley of the shadow of Death*, wherein the Lord is a Light unto me; and I am Every Hour waiting and longing for my *Dismission* to a Better World." After giving in his testimony, he proceeds as follows:

"It is now accordingly the DYING WISH, of One that has been about Threescore and Six Years, after a poor manner, but I hope, with some Sincerity, serving the best of Masters, in the blessed Work of the Gospel; That the CHURCHES may *Stand fast* in the *Faith and Order of the Gospel*, and *hold fast* what they have received, and *Let no Man take away their Crown*; And, that the PASTORS would more Distinctly from time to time, and with proper Inculca-

tions, acquaint the *Churches* with their *True Interest;* and those Things which will be their *Beauty* and their *Safety.* And considering the Relation which I have heretofore sustained as a *President* for Twenty Years, it is highly proper for *me* to leave it as also my more particular Desire, that the *Tutors* in our COLLEGES, from whence the *Churches* expect their *Supplies,* would see to have the *Students* well informed in the Points, which they must Know and Serve, that so the WORK of GOD among us may not be marr'd by falling into Unskilful and Unfaithful Hands."

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involved in that asked by your correspondent are, therefore, these: Does Universalism contradict the Christian spirit? Is it inconsistent with love to the Lord Jesus Christ? Does it necessarily imply another Gospel?"

The editor of the *Independent* is greatly annoyed by these communications, and is not inclined to favor the publication of any farther inquiries or suggestions respecting the latent Universalism in their ranks. He dismisses the matter in this brief answer to his last correspondent — "These are questions which cannot be discussed in our columns. The answer to the only question that can be raised here is that we are not accustomed to require any doctrinal tests from our members, but it is impossible that Universalists should find themselves at home in our churches."

— In an "Address at a Soirée of the Mechanics' Institution, by Rev. T. P. Kirkman, Rector of Croft," England, we find the following reference to what he styles "the atrocious maledictions" of the Athanasian Creed:

"No man of sense and education believes really in his conscience. and without a quibble, however forward he may be, reverend or right reverend, to maintain it in priestly pretension or shout it in sectarian strife, that this old church theory of damnation for misbelief or disbelief ever was, or ever will be, verified in the case of any one virtuous and sincere doubter. I have long taught my flock the plain truth, that if any man says or thinks that his virtuous and sincere neighbor is in any way under the Divine displeasure, for honestly holding a certain opinion about the meaning, or the truth, or the importance of any proposition of that man's special theology, he who so thinks or speaks of his neighbor is always in the wrong, either morally or mentally. That thought is invariably either a sinful or a foolish thought."

After many attempts on the part of the Chinese Government to evade the treaties with European nations securing certain rights to Christians and Christianity, attempts which have led to years of warfare, they were finally ratified in 1861; since which time the preaching of the Gospel has not been seriously interfered with. Missionary intelligence states that missionaries have travelled hundreds of miles into the interior, publicly proclaiming their doctrines to assembled crowds, and distributing Christian books, without any opposition from the authorities, or violence on the part of the people. As a specimen

of the manner in which these treaties engage the Chinese Government to protect Christians and their religion, we take the following, which is Article XIII of the French treaty. And it will be observed that it is not for the benefit of Catholics only, but of "all Christian bodies":

"The Christian religion, having for its essential object to lead men to virtue, the members of all Christian bodies (communions,) shall enjoy full security for their persons, their property, and the free exercise of their religious worship; and entire protection shall be given to missionaries who peacefully enter the country furnished with passports such as are described in Article VIII. No obstacles shall be interposed by the Chinese authorities to the recognized right of any person in China to embrace Christianity, if he pleases, and to obey its requirements, without being subject on that account to any penalty. Whatever has been heretofore written, proclaimed, or published in China, by order of government, against the Christian faith, is wholly abrogated and nullified in all the provinces of the empire."

— Of the three millions and more of people inhabiting the four provinces making the New Dominion of Canada, only 15 per cent. belong to the Church of England! Of the rest, 44 per cent. are Catholics, 15 per cent. Presbyterians, and 14 per cent. Methodists. The remainder is composed of Baptists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, &c. A census of the entire British Empire, including all its dependencies, would give the following results: The greatest number of British subjects are Pagans, the next most numerous class is composed of Mohammedans, next are the Roman Catholics, the Protestants being the fourth and least numerous class; and if these are divided, the Church of England will be still in the minority, showing the remarkable fact of the smallest religious division governing all the rest.

— The Church of England is a curious medley of men and opinions, as will be seen by the following amusing statement from the English "Independent": "In the *Record* advertisements appear for assistant clergyman of 'Evangelical views,' in the *Guardian* of 'moderate views,' and in the *Church Times* of 'Catholic views.' The ecclesiastical gamut is now divided into the most delicate chromatics. In a single page of one of these journals now before us we find among the 'Wanteds' 'A priest of sound Church views,' 'A curate of sound moderate views,' 'A clergyman of no extreme views,' 'A curate of Catholic views,' of 'Liberal High-Church,' 'Moderate High-Church,' and 'High-Church, but not extreme views;' 'Sound

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Church;' 'Loyal to the Church of England;' and finally, one clergyman who is particularly careful to keep betwixt and between, wants to meet with 'a brother clergyman of moderate *via media* views!' Surely this is tautologically explicit; we suppose it means in plain English, 'wishy-washy.' Though 'Broad Church' does not happen to be mentioned amongst all this variety of 'views,' we would ask again whether variety of taste is not already sufficiently provided for in the English Church? What further 'comprehension' can be desired? He who cannot suit himself in an Establishment where such a well-assorted stock of ecclesiastical opinions is kept on hand, must be hard indeed to please."

— In France, with a population of 37,000,000, there are 4.720,224 pupils; and it is reckoned 600,000 children receive no education. Prussia, with a population of 18,000,000, has 3,000,000 scholars. A like proportion is found in Switzerland, in the German States, and in Holland. Spain has a population of upwards of 12,000,000, and upwards of 1,000,000 scholars. Italy has a population of 22,000,000, and 1,000,000 scholars. Austria had, in 1864, a population of 35,000,000, with 2,500,000 scholars; 1,300,000 children besides, whose age made attendance at school obligatory, were not found there. In England, 8,438 schools were inspected by the Privy Council in 1865, with accommodation for 1,677,808 children, and an actual attendance of 1,000,000 scholars. In a population of 21,000,000 (England and Wales), there are about 1,250,000 children who ought to be at school and are not there. The great bulk of uneducated children are found in the towns. In London alone there are nearly 200,000 such. In Manchester there are 35,000; while in Birmingham half the children who ought to be at school are receiving no education.

— Our readers may remember that, about two years ago, the priests of Barletta, a small port in the southeast of Italy, so excited their flocks against a few people who dared to meet together for reading the Scriptures and prayer, that houses were sacked, and eight persons killed, and many seriously injured. The leaders in the outrage, among whom were a Capuchin friar and a canon, have lately been sentenced to eighteen years in irons, and others to various terms of imprisonment. So little do the Bourbon and Papal party seem to have been aware of the change which has come over Italy, that, feeling confident of the acquittal of their *confreres*, they had prepared dinners and garlands to welcome them on their return.

— It is said that recent inquiries give a million and a half of Jews in the United States, of whom seventy thousand are in New York. It is further stated that they have resolved to establish a college in Philadelphia. It is not, however, to be confined to their own people, but to be open to Christians of all shades of views. It will not exact from its students any pledges, but will be devoted to giving all who please to avail themselves of its privileges, a thorough acquaintance with Hebrew literature.

According to a writer in the *Jewish Intelligencer*, while infidelity abounds to a large extent among many of the Jews, a superstitious reverence for the dogmas taught by the Rabbis, and the absurdities inculcated by the Talmudists, is greatly increasing among many others. No less than forty thousand copies of some of the treatises of the Talmud have been sold by one printer at Berlin in a single year.

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CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. The Ground and Object of Hope for Mankind. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge. By Rev. F. D. Maurice, Professor of Moral Philosophy. Boston: W. V. Spencer.

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The author thinks that the *matter* and *doctrine* of the epistle are Pauline, though it may have been written by another hand, perhaps with the sanction of the Apostle. The teachings of the commentary are, of course, according to the so-called Orthodox school. Chapter ix. 27, follows the beaten track; though ii. 5, and vi. 5, "the world to come," are correctly interpreted as meaning "the Christian dispensation."

5. Annual of Scientific Discovery: a Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1868. Gould & Lincoln.

This volume is edited by Samuel Kneeland, and the aims and character of the series are too well known to need exposition from us. There is not to be found a more useful book, nor one more closely packed with valuable information respecting the most important discoveries and improvements in all the realms of science, art and antiquities; embracing also a list of scientific publications for the past year, and a notice of eminent scientists who have died during 1867. We find the following under the head of "Assyrian Antiquities":

"Sir Henry Rawlinson has recently succeeded in uniting and thus completing two separate portions of an Assyrian record covering 243 years of the empire, one of which is the year of the computed eclipse of the sun, 763 B. C. This event is distinctly noted in a record at a date varying not over 40 years from Archbishop Usher's chronology. The genuineness and authenticity of the record, the accuracy of the reading and translation, and the correctness of the chronology computed from the Hebrew Scriptures, are all established by their coincidence with a fact demonstrated by modern astronomy. The record was upon two separate blocks in the British Museum, the one containing the names, and the other the dates, and not hitherto supposed to have any connection with each other. We have now but few chapters in the history of ancient nations written out so authentically and accurately as that of Assyria at this period, from the time of Benhadad and Ahab nearly to Josiah."

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5. Annual of Scientific Discovery: a Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art for 1868. Gould & Lincoln.

This volume is edited by Samuel Kneeland, and the aims and character of the series are too well known to need exposition from us. There is not to be found a more useful book, nor one more closely packed with valuable information respecting the most important discoveries and improvements in all the realms of science, art and antiquities; embracing also a list of scientific publications for the past year, and a notice of eminent scientists who have died during 1867. We find the following under the head of "Assyrian Antiquities":

"Sir Henry Rawlinson has recently succeeded in uniting and thus completing two separate portions of an Assyrian record covering 243 years of the empire, one of which is the year of the computed eclipse of the sun, 763 B. C. This event is distinctly noted in a record at a date varying not over 40 years from Archbishop Usher's chronology. The genuineness and authenticity of the record, the accuracy of the reading and translation, and the correctness of the chronology computed from the Hebrew Scriptures, are all established by their coincidence with a fact demonstrated by modern astronomy. The record was upon two separate blocks in the British Museum, the one containing the names, and the other the dates, and not hitherto supposed to have any connection with each other. We have now but few chapters in the history of ancient nations written out so authentically and accurately as that of Assyria at this period, from the time of Benhadad and Ahab nearly to Josiah."

6. Norwood; or, Village Life in New England. By Henry Ward Beecher. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

Judged simply by the words of the title — "Village Life in New England" — this book is a success. It glows with graphic and delightful pictures of home-life as it was, and as it is still, to some extent, among the hills and valleys of New England. No man living has a clearer sight, or a heartier appreciation, of all the varied characteristics which distinguish, adorn and bless the true New England life, than the author of Norwood.

Few men have a keener sense for every beautiful thing in Nature, an eye so capable of taking in at a glance all the breadth and detail, all the beauty and finish, of a landscape; and none a more wonderful gift for giving expression to what he sees and feels, and helping others to see and feel it also. The reader of Norwood will find many landscape pictures of this sort, which he will pause to look at.

Beside these things, the book abounds in aphorisms, pithy religious sayings, short sentences full of the wisdom of experience, observation and study; many of them suggesting thought and reflection for the whole day, and others provoking self-inquiry, and some of them excellent as rules for self-discipline and the government of life. Occasionally these seem to furnish the author with texts for sermons, which sometimes become prosy; and not all of these, we think, appear for the first time in Norwood. But perhaps this feature will make the book all the more welcome to many of the admirers of Mr. Beecher.

7. A Commentary on the Holy Scriptures: Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, with special reference to Ministers and Students. By John Peter Lange, D. D., in connection with a number of eminent European divines. Translated from the German, and edited with Additions, Original and Selected, by Philip Schaff, D. D., in connection with American divines of various Evangelical Denominations. Per Vol. Sheep, $6.50; Cloth, $5.00.

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It would require pages to name and illustrate the peculiar features of these volumes, and to show in how many ways they are valuable, and almost indispensable, to every one who means to make a thorough study of the Bible. The volume on *Genesis* is a good example of

the immense labor and learning bestowed upon the general and particular subjects involved. *Physical Science*, *Philosophy*, *Philology* (see "Excursus on the Confusion of Languages"), *Archæology*, *History*, *Exegesis*, *Criticism*, to say nothing of Doctrinal and Homiletical matters, are all put under contribution, and furnish of their wealth to the pages of this noble volume.

Of course there is much in the work which we reject; interpretations which seem forced and unnatural; doctrines false and without foundation in the text; criticisms fanciful and finical; and theories absurd and untenable. But all this admitted, the student who does not find much that is new, suggestive and instructive in the "General Introduction to the Old Testament," the "Introduction to Genesis," the "Special Introduction to the First Chapter of Genesis," and in the "Exegetical and Critical Notes" to the Book, is to be congratulated on the richness of his library and the extent of his reading. We regard Lange's *Genesis*, with the large and valuable additions by Tayler Lewis and Dr. Gosman, as a storehouse of learning, and one of the best helps toward an understanding of an important portion of Scripture, which the scholarship of this century has furnished.

One excellent feature of the volume is the "Literature" of Genesis and of the Pentateuch, giving the titles of all the really valuable works on all the general and special questions involved — a "Theological Index," in fact.

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ARTICLE XXVI.

Friedrich Schleiermacher.

IT has been often said that no great man is appreciated by his own age. It may even be laid down as a law of history, that the generations which succeed the leaders of the world, pronounce the final verdict upon their fame. The true kings of men often rule over but a small domain during their lifetime. When they have laid down the sceptre, and departed from the earth, it is seen that their right to royalty rested on universal truths, which their own age was unable to appreciate, and which can only receive just recognition after generations, or perhaps centuries, of intellectual and spiritual growth. Then, the ideas which they have enthroned rule after them over their legitimate empire.

It has been thus with the greatest Protestant theologian of this century. Though he was not without an extensive recognition and influence in his lifetime, though he lived to see a larger and more brilliant train of followers than any other teacher of his age could boast; yet he, in a measure, shared the common fate of reformers, in having his name dragged down into the complications of party strife, in being hated, maligned and misrepresented, till the great truths which should be forever linked with his fame were neglected or forgotten. Yet no higher tribute could be paid to his greatness, than the newly revived interest and ardent affection of Protestant Germany towards him, in this second generation since his death. The ideas which Friedrich Schleiermacher represented, have now gained a wider influence than they reached when enforced by his life and his personal teaching. This happens after over thirty years of intellectual progress. This period has been one of great activity in the theological world; a period of investigation, doubt, scepticism, and the boldest criticism. But the serene Christian faith of Schleiermacher is now the rallying-point of the religious mind of his country. Protestant Germany turns to

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this as the strong tower against which the waves of doubt and denial have dashed in vain.

If any apology were needed for introducing to our readers a theologian of another generation, and of a foreign country, it may be found in the fact that the study of a great and beautiful character is profitable to all, and in the further consideration that, at about the same period in which the unlettered, but inspired preacher, John Murray, was demonstrating with spirit and power our great doctrines in America, Friedrich Schleiermacher, the accomplished scholar and profound theologian, was their advocate in Germany. It is not the object of this article to give a complete exposition of Schleiermacher's theological opinions, nor to attempt a review of his voluminous works. It is only undertaken to give a sketch of his life, as unfolded in his Autobiography and Letters, to trace the development of his character and opinions, and to appreciate his theological labors in their relation to the religious questions in which we are most interested.

Friedrich Daniel Ernest Schleiermacher was born on the 21st of November, 1768, at Breslau, where his father was then stationed as chaplain to a regiment in Silesia. His mother, to whom the care of his early education was left, was the daughter of a chaplain-in-ordinary to the King, named Stubenrauch. The young Friedrich was of slender frame and delicate health, but he gave evidence, at a very early age, of remarkable sensibility and intelligence. He was put in school, and commenced the study of Latin at the age of five, passing with great rapidity through the elementary principles of the language, and outstripping all competitors. This progress, gaining him at once a reputation in the school, and putting him above boys older and larger than himself, made him proud and conceited, as he says, to such an extent as to excite the solicitude of his parents. He was cured of this by his mother, who, ever looking anxiously after his religious interests, endeavored to change his pride into gratitude toward God. The attempt to read Latin authors, and the fact of his deficiency in scientific knowledge, which was forced upon him

by the daily observation of common things about him, contributed to the same result, and, as he says, made him seriously doubt the much-lauded greatness of his natural faculties. At this point his parents removed into Upper Silesia, and the young Friedrich was taken out of school, and for several years deprived of the advantages of systematic education. This loss was, however, in a measure compensated by the acquisition of a large fund of practical knowledge, which, he says, he unconsciously imbibed through the endeavors of his mother. Here, also, under her care, he received that religious direction which a pious mother can give, and which, judiciously administered at such an age, moulds the character of the man. That this instruction was of the traditional orthodox type, there is reason to believe. Such training casts the common mind in its own mould, but not a religious genius like Schleiermacher. The young Friedrich, we may believe, caught the inspiration of the tender, maternal piety in whose atmosphere his early years were passed; but his was not a spirit to be enslaved to formalism. These years, which were spent away from the regular discipline of the schools, and under the influence of a pure, Christian home, doubtless contributed largely to the formation of the character for spiritual insight and religious depth and originality, which distinguished Schleiermacher as a man. He himself bears a distinguished testimony to the influence of his early religious training, in a celebrated passage in the *Discourses on Religion:*

"Piety was the womb in whose holy darkness my young life was nourished, and prepared for the world yet unknown to me; in it my soul breathed, before it had yet found its peculiar sphere in science and life. It was this that helped me when I began to sift the faiths of my fathers, and to purify my thoughts and feelings from the rubbish of antiquity. It was this that remained with me when the God and immortality of my childhood vanished before the eye of doubt.[1] It inspired my conduct, taught me how to preserve intact, in the midst of the world, my personality, with its imperfections and

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From his twelfth to his fourteenth year, the young Friedrich was in a boarding-school in Pless, where he fell into the hands of a pupil of Ernesti, who, as an instructor, he says, was of immense service to him. Here he was stimulated to a zealous study of the classics, and his ambition was kindled by stories of the celebrated men of antiquity. He relates, in connection with this period of his life, a profound experience — profound for a child of thirteen years — in which we see the future man foreshadowed in distinct outlines. "During this period," he says, "I had a peculiar thorn in the flesh. It consisted in a strange scepticism, the origin of which I can no longer recollect. I conceived the idea that all the ancient authors, and with them the whole of ancient history, were suppositious. The only reason, indeed, that I had for this belief was, that I was not acquainted with any proofs of their genuineness, and that all I knew about them seemed to me disjointed and unreal. The reputation for cleverness which I still enjoyed, and which I was most anxious not to destroy by any disclosure of what I conceived to be a more than ordinary amount of ignorance and incapacity, had produced a closeness of character in me which caused me to keep silent on the subject of these strange doubts also, which, nevertheless, troubled me much, and I resolved to await the time when my own investigations should confirm or refute them." A recent biographer well says, in commenting on this circumstance: "If it is true, as the poet says, that a higher sense is often hid in childish play, one might be tempted to find predestinated, in this truly childish fancy of a boy of thirteen, the future critic, who will accept nothing on mere authority, but everything after thorough demonstration." [3]

But the time had now come when the parents must put their son from under their immediate care, into an institution of learning. They were filled with apprehensions of danger,

[2] Reden über die Religion, S. 10. [3] Von Kittlitz, Schleiermacher's Bildungsgang.

which he also shared with them, from the immoralities which prevailed in the large schools; and while they were thus hesitating, a fortunate journey made them acquainted with the educational establishment of the Moravians, or United Brethren, at Niesky. Encouraged by the good reports of the high moral and religious character of this institution, the parents determined to put their children, Friedrich, and his brother and sister, under its care. In 1783 the two brothers entered at Niesky. A view of the spiritual condition of the young Friedrich just previous to his coming under the influence of the peculiar doctrines of this community, will help to an understanding of the important result. "I had already sustained," he says, "many internal religious conflicts. *The doctrine of eternal punishment and reward had already exercised a disturbing power over my childish imagination*, and in my eleventh year I spent several sleepless nights in consequence of not being able to come to a satisfactory conclusion concerning the mutual relation between the sufferings of Christ and the punishment for which these sufferings were a substitute." The religious instruction which he received among the Brethren was not of a character to satisfy such a spirit as his. For the two prominent doctrines of this fraternity are the expiatory sufferings of Christ, and the mystic communion with him. With these they join the doctrines of the natural corruption of man, and the supernatural means of grace. While there was much in the mystical part of their religion that was attractive to a soul like Schleiermacher's, naturally inclined to profound internal experiences, and to that form of religion which consists in spiritual communion with Christ, there was still a violent repelling force to his inquiring and logical mind, in their doctrine of vicarious suffering, of natural depravity and endless punishment, and to his fine sensibilities, in the coarse and realistic form in which they presented the passion of the Saviour, lingering with morbid delight among all its aspects of agony and horror. Hence, though his imagination was, as he confesses, so powerfully affected by the mysticism of the Moravian worship, that he

its advantages, and it is through it alone that I have learned friendship and love." [2]

From his twelfth to his fourteenth year, the young Friedrich was in a boarding-school in Pless, where he fell into the hands of a pupil of Ernesti, who, as an instructor, he says, was of immense service to him. Here he was stimulated to a zealous study of the classics, and his ambition was kindled by stories of the celebrated men of antiquity. He relates, in connection with this period of his life, a profound experience — profound for a child of thirteen years — in which we see the future man foreshadowed in distinct outlines. "During this period," he says, "I had a peculiar thorn in the flesh. It consisted in a strange scepticism, the origin of which I can no longer recollect. I conceived the idea that all the ancient authors, and with them the whole of ancient history, were suppositious. The only reason, indeed, that I had for this belief was, that I was not acquainted with any proofs of their genuineness, and that all I knew about them seemed to me disjointed and unreal. The reputation for cleverness which I still enjoyed, and which I was most anxious not to destroy by any disclosure of what I conceived to be a more than ordinary amount of ignorance and incapacity, had produced a closeness of character in me which caused me to keep silent on the subject of these strange doubts also, which, nevertheless, troubled me much, and I resolved to await the time when my own investigations should confirm or refute them." A recent biographer well says, in commenting on this circumstance: "If it is true, as the poet says, that a higher sense is often hid in childish play, one might be tempted to find predestinated, in this truly childish fancy of a boy of thirteen, the future critic, who will accept nothing on mere authority, but everything after thorough demonstration." [3]

But the time had now come when the parents must put their son from under their immediate care, into an institution of learning. They were filled with apprehensions of danger,

[2] Reden über die Religion, S. 10. [3] Von Kittlitz, Schleiermacher's Bildungsgang.

which he also shared with them, from the immoralities which prevailed in the large schools; and while they were thus hesitating, a fortunate journey made them acquainted with the educational establishment of the Moravians, or United Brethren, at Niesky. Encouraged by the good reports of the high moral and religious character of this institution, the parents determined to put their children, Friedrich, and his brother and sister, under its care. In 1783 the two brothers entered at Niesky. A view of the spiritual condition of the young Friedrich just previous to his coming under the influence of the peculiar doctrines of this community, will help to an understanding of the important result. "I had already sustained," he says, "many internal religious conflicts. *The doctrine of eternal punishment and reward had already exercised a disturbing power over my childish imagination*, and in my eleventh year I spent several sleepless nights in consequence of not being able to come to a satisfactory conclusion concerning the mutual relation between the sufferings of Christ and the punishment for which these sufferings were a substitute." The religious instruction which he received among the Brethren was not of a character to satisfy such a spirit as his. For the two prominent doctrines of this fraternity are the expiatory sufferings of Christ, and the mystic communion with him. With these they join the doctrines of the natural corruption of man, and the supernatural means of grace. While there was much in the mystical part of their religion that was attractive to a soul like Schleiermacher's, naturally inclined to profound internal experiences, and to that form of religion which consists in spiritual communion with Christ, there was still a violent repelling force to his inquiring and logical mind, in their doctrine of vicarious suffering, of natural depravity and endless punishment, and to his fine sensibilities, in the coarse and realistic form in which they presented the passion of the Saviour, lingering with morbid delight among all its aspects of agony and horror. Hence, though his imagination was, as he confesses, so powerfully affected by the mysticism of the Moravian worship, that he

would have fallen into the fanaticism, if he had been a little less cold-blooded, yet the good spirit of inquiry which never forsook him, together with a close self-examination, soon brought him to himself, and set his feet on firmer ground. "In vain," he says, "I aspired after those supernatural experiences, of the necessity of which every glance at myself with reference to the doctrine of future retribution, convinced me. . . . Yet they seemed ever to flee, though at times I thought that I had seized a shadow of them, at least; for I soon perceived that it was no more than the work of my own mind, the result of the fruitless straining of my imagination." The same critical spirit, born of an imperious want of his soul for truth, and the reason of things, which was manifested earlier in his doubts of the authenticity of the classical authors, was now demanding satisfaction in questions of theology, at an age when others are accustomed to bow unquestioning to authority. It is not difficult to foresee the future attitude of such a mind in relation to traditional dogmas and ecclesiastical assumptions.

While here at Niesky, and in the seminary at Braby — the University of the Moravians, the young Schleiermacher was an enthusiastic student. In company with a young German fellow-student, Albertini, with whom his intimacy was so complete that the two were called by the names *Orestes* and *Pylades*, he read with great rapidity nearly all the Greek and Latin classical authors, nothing daunted by the conviction that much of what was gone over was unintelligible for want of auxiliary knowledge. "We never had," he says, "a lesson in Greek antiquities; but, by degrees, we made many discoveries ourselves, and wrote, in most triumphant mood, essays, abounding in quotations, which contained nothing more than the whole world knew." But however satisfactory to himself his progress in study here, and however happy he might have been in his friendship, in all that concerns religious experience, he found nothing but emptiness and dissatisfaction. In vain he strove for the supernatural religious experiences. The most violent efforts of imagination re-

mained fruitless, and the result was the melancholy consciousness of self-deception.

While our young student is suffering these internal conflicts in the seclusion of the Brethren at Braby, another conflict is going on in the world without. It is now the period of the great intellectual movement in Germany in the direction of free inquiry and speculative philosophy, in which some of the highest minds of the nation, thinkers and poets, were engaged. The quick ear of the young Schleiermacher caught the sound of the conflict. He burned to know, to inquire, to test the great questions of the times. But the seminary was a moral prison. The books that he most wanted, and actually most needed, were forbidden, and it was only by disobedience, and through secret correspondence and circuitous routes, that he was able to obtain Goethe's *Werther*, and Wieland's poems. The Moravian Brethren were guided by the insane policy that the advance of scepticism is best prevented by an attempt to keep all knowledge of it from the young; a policy whose only result can be either to make religious imbeciles, or infidel scoffers, of all on whom it is exercised. In the case of young people of spirit and ambition, it is only to spur them on toward the forbidden thing, by exciting their curiosity, while to keep them from a contact with the spirit of the age, is as impossible as to shut out the air from their lungs. The directors of the seminary at Braby not only prohibited the reading of books which were in conflict with the orthodox faith, but forbade all disputation and discussion of the contested questions, by the young inquirer, with his friends and companions. All this helped to hasten the inevitable result. The boy of seventeen had outgrown the religious philosophy of his teachers. All possible means were employed to change his mind, but in vain. Promises, and even threats, were used to no purpose; and Albertini, afterwards President of the institution, has confessed that Schleiermacher was unhandsomely treated.[4] He now felt that he could no longer conscientiously remain with the Brethren.

[4] Schleiermacher's Briefwechsel, III. S. 23.

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But the most difficult task was yet before him, to inform his tenderly loved father of the condition of his mind, and of his rupture with the Brotherhood, well knowing what grief and pain the communication must cause. Then comes a most highly interesting, affecting and exciting correspondence between the father and son, of which its first edition has forcibly said: "It is as if two centuries here met in conflict, and gave battle, heart against heart, in the innermost sanctuary of the family. The faith of feeling, and the intellectual illumination of the eighteenth century, seem to meet each other in irreconcilable opposition; there, the inner experience of a religious spirit, here, the inexorable claims of a soul thirsting for knowledge — a disunion, thus, in the indestructible elements of human nature, which must be overcome and reconciled, or there results a fatal schism in individual, as in social, life." The son thus writes to the father, under date of Jan. 21st, 1787:

"Tenderly Beloved Father: Though tardily expressed, my wishes for you in the New Year are not, therefore, the less sincere, or the less fervent. The older we grow, dear father, the longer we witness the course of events in the world, the more persuaded we become, that neither for ourselves, nor for others, ought we to wish any of those things which are generally the object of desire, lest we should, in reality, be wishing evil. Everything is, under some circumstances, happiness, and under others, unhappiness, except peace, tranquility of mind, and submissiveness of heart; and this is what I wish for you, in addition to that which must be most valued by a father, well-founded joy in your children. The more I, as your son, wish you this from the bottom of my filial heart, the more it costs me, the more it pains me in the depth of my soul, that I must now announce to you something which will cause your hope in the fulfilment of this wish to waver. I confessed to you, in my last letter, my dissatisfaction with the limited scope of my position here, and pointed out how easily, under such circumstances, religious doubts may arise in the minds of young people. I thus endeavored to prepare you for the intelligence that these doubts have been awakened in me, but I did not attain my object. You believed that

your answer had set me at rest; and for six long months I most unjustifiably remained silent, because I could not find it in my heart to destroy this illusion. Faith is the regalia of the Godhead, you say. Alas! dearest father, if you believe that, without this faith, no one can attain to salvation in the next world, nor to tranquility in this — and such I know is your belief — oh! then pray to God to grant it to me, for to me it is now lost. *I cannot believe that he who called himself the Son of Man, was the true, eternal God; I cannot believe that his death was a vicarious atonement, because he never expressly said so himself; and I cannot believe it to have been necessary, because God, who evidently did not create men for perfection, but for the pursuit of it, cannot possibly intend to punish them eternally because they have not attained it.*

Alas! best of fathers, the deep and acute suffering which I endure while writing this letter, prevents me from giving you in detail the history of my soul as regards my opinions, or all my strong reasons for entertaining them; but, I pray you, do not look upon them as merely transient views, without deep roots. During almost a whole year they have had a hold upon me, and it is long and earnest reflection that has determined me to adopt them. I entreat you not to keep back from me your strongest counter-reasons; but I candidly confess that I do not think you will succeed in convincing me *at present*, for I hold strongly by my convictions. And now are told these tidings which must be so terribly startling to you. Try to enter entirely into my feelings, and you will, perhaps, be able in some measure to understand what it must have cost me to write these lines, devoted to you as I am, my good father, with such tender, filial affection, acknowledging as I do your great love for me, and being concious that I owe everything to you; for that I entertain these feelings, I can aver with a good conscience, and I am sure that you also are persuaded of it. They have been written with trembling hand and with many tears; but I would not even now send them forth, had not my superiors encouraged me, and even in a manner charged me to write to you. Comfort yourself, dear father, for I know that you were long in the same state in which I am now. Doubts assailed you at one time, as they now do me, and yet you have become what you now are. Think, hope, believe, that the same may be the case with me; and be assured that, although I may not be of the same faith as you, I will, nevertheless, ever strive to become an honorable, upright and useful man; and, after all, that is the most essential thing."

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He then beseeches his father to send him for two years to Halle, for the thorough study of theology, and closes with these words: "In sorrow, dear father, I kiss your hands, and entreat you to look at everything from the most favorable side, and to consider well, and to bestow upon me in future, also, as far as it is possible, that fatherly affection which is so indescribably valued by your distressed and most dutiful son." [5] This letter called out the following from the father, full of the wrath of love, and after the manner of Paul to the Galatians:

"Oh, thou insensate son! who has deluded thee, that thou no longer obeyest the truth, thou, before whose eyes Christ was pictured, and who now crucifiest him? You were well started; who has held you back from obeying the truth? Such persuasion is not from Him who has called you; but a little leaven leavens the whole loaf. The same wickedness of heart which, four years ago, made you fear that through it you would be lost in the world, and which drove you into the congrega-ion, alas! you have furthermore nourished it in yourself, and it has now leavened your whole being, and is driving you out of the congregation. Oh! my son! my son! How deeply do you humble me! What sighs you call forth from my soul! And if the departed watch over us, oh! what a cruel disturber of the tranquility of your blessed mother have you become, now that even your stranger step-mother is weeping over you! Go forth, then, into the world, whose honors you are seeking. Try if its husks can satisfy your soul, which refuses the divine cordial that Jesus bestows on all hearts that thirst for him. Have you, then, never tasted one little drop of balsam from his wounds? And was it all hypocrisy and deception which you used to write, and which you have so often protested that you felt? But if it were truth, oh! then it will witness awfully against you on the last day, if you do not turn back again to the eternal, merciful God."

After this vehement outburst of displeasure, the father proceeds in a superficial way, dealing in the stereotype assertions of his school, to answer the objections of his son; then

[5] Life and Letters, vol. I, p. 46. Bildungsgang, S. 16.

he assumes the tone of mildness, and calls him his dear son, but firmly declares: "If you will go forth and serve strange gods, then make your own choice; but I and my house will serve the God who has ransomed us. And now, O son! whom I press with tears to my sorrowing heart, with heart-rending grief I discard thee; for discard thee I must, as thou no longer worshippest the God of thy father, as thou no longer kneelest at the same altar with him; yet once more, my son, before we part, oh! tell me, what has the poor, meek and humble-hearted Jesus done to thee, that thou dost renounce his strength and his divine peace?" Then he entreats and admonishes him to return to the old faith: "Return, my son, return! Human virtue is not to be perfect, but to turn back speedily from the path of error. O Lord Jesus, Shepherd of the human race! bring back to thyself thy straying lamb! Do it for the glory of thy own name! Amen!"

As if anticipating the storm that would burst upon him, the son had written another letter soon after his first, in which he expressed, in the tenderest terms, his grief at the pain his confession must cause his father, and urged his request to be sent to Halle, where, if anywhere, there was hope that his doubts would be removed, where liberal ideas prevailed, and discussion was free. From his admirable letter in reply to that from his father, we must make even briefer extracts than from the first:

"Oh! could you picture to yourself the distressing, the miserable condition of your son! I was but too wretched before, and now your letter has more than doubled my wretchedness. . . . Oh! how many bitter tears have flowed from my eyes! How many sleepless nights, how many joyless days, has the thought of your grief, which I feel as keenly as you do, cost me! It is torture to me to think that I am the cause of it, and yet that it is not in my power to relieve it. Oh, how often have I wished that I could still cling as trustingly and firmly to your faith as I used to do! Why do you say, dearest father, that I no longer worship your God, but that I desire to serve strange gods? Is it not one and the same God who has created you and me, and who sustains us,

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and whom we both reverence? Why can we no longer kneel at the same altar, and pray to our common Father? Oh, woe is me! As what do you look upon your unhappy son? I entertain doubts regarding the doctrine of the Atonement, and the divinity of Christ, and you speak as if I were denying God! And these doubts, moreover, are but the natural consequences of my position. *How could I believe, on mere assertion, that all the objections raised by our modern theologians, and supported by critical, exegetical and philosophical reasons, were nought?*"

We regret that we cannot give in full these letters which throw so much light on the situation in which the young Schleiermacher was placed, and reveal so closely the pure depths of his soul. That which has been given, however, is sufficient both to show the sincerity of his heart and the purity of his motives, and to disclose, in the youth of eighteen, the future religious reformer. We see even here, weighing against the preponderating doubt, and the critical tendency, that profound piety and devout faith, which always distinguished him, and made it possible for him to be a bold and acute critic of the Christian history and documents, and yet a humble and fervent believer in Christianity. The ardent passion of his soul for truth did not consume his faith; rather, both mutually strengthened each other, and thus completed and sustained the harmony of his character.

We now come to a new period in the life of Schleiermacher: his entrance upon the study of theology at the University of Halle. His father had yielded to his urgent request to be sent here, and he took up his abode in the family of his uncle, Stubenrauch, Professor of Theology. Here he was received and treated as a son. His uncle's house was to him as a home. For two years he was a student at the University, not, indeed, as a punctual and regular attendant, but following his own path, with the freedom of conscious genius and originality. He had not yet learned how to use his newly-found liberty, and in the eagerness to satisfy his craving for knowledge, he neglected to reduce his studies to a system. He worked with passionate zeal, with enthusiasm, and by

starts. He neglected Scripture interpretation, and the philosophical lectures generally, but heard Semler, and studied with great passion the writings of Wolf, Kant, and Jacobi, besides giving some attention to the modern languages. Of his habits of study he thus writes to his father: "With me, study is too much of a passion, if I may say so, to allow me, when I am under no other control than my own, to pursue a subject during a fixed time, and then, at the stroke of the clock, or nearly so, to pass on to some other branch of knowledge. Everything that I do is done with a certain degree of impetuosity, and I persevere in it, until I have got through it, up to a certain point at least." A highly significant confession from this period is the following:

"From any tendency to the system-mongering mania, I have always been still more exempt. My thinking began with doubting; and, notwithstanding that I have since then read much and thought much, and had considerable intercourse with the firmest adherents of various systems, I have, in theology, as well as in philosophy, remained pretty much in the same stage. I do not think that I shall ever succeed in forming for myself a regularly developed system, in accordance with which I shall be able to solve every question that may arise, consistently with all the previous knowledge I may have acquired; but I have always been of opinion that to investigate and test, and to listen patiently to all parties and to all witnesses, are the only means by which we may at last attain to a sufficient degree of certainty, and, above all, to a fixed limit between those matters regarding which we must adopt decided views, and which we can account for to ourselves and others, and those which we may leave undecided without detriment to our happiness or tranquility. In this manner I remain a calm spectator of the wrestlings of the theological and philosophical athletes, without deciding in favor of any, or staking my liberty on the triumphs of either party; never failing, however, to learn something from both."

The man is foreshadowed in these words of the youth. For a complete and definite system, Schleiermacher never strove, but with restless energy sought always after whatever could be known of truth and certainty. Such a course cannot,

and whom we both reverence? Why can we no longer kneel at the same altar, and pray to our common Father? Oh, woe is me! As what do you look upon your unhappy son? I entertain doubts regarding the doctrine of the Atonement, and the divinity of Christ, and you speak as if I were denying God! And these doubts, moreover, are but the natural consequences of my position. *How could I believe, on mere assertion, that all the objections raised by our modern theologians, and supported by critical, exegetical and philosophical reasons, were nought?*"

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however, be recommended to all. In the case of a religious genius, a born theologian, a man of most remarkable originality, like Schleiermacher, it may be safe; but for common minds it may be the highway to profitless groping, or spiritual imbecility.

From Halle, Schleiermacher went with his uncle to Drossen, where he spent a year in quiet study, endeavoring to supplement his fragmentary theological knowledge, and to establish a more perfect harmony in his mind, of what he had learned. Thence, after much care about his meagre wardrobe, he went to Berlin, to undergo theological examination for license, which he obtained with distinction, being complimented on his sermon by the Court preacher, Sack. This gentleman, a man of influence, and acquainted with the family of Schleiermacher, took an active interest in the talented young man, and procured for him a situation as instructor in the family of the Count of Dohna, at Schlobitten. In this family he passed two or three of the most delightful years of his life. Here, in the refined social intercourse of this house, was first awakened in him that sense of womanly nobility which afterwards exercised so great an influence on his character. While here he made a journey to Königsberg to visit Kant, with whom he was not favorably impressed, but whose philosophy he afterwards studied with profit. Here, too, he began to preach, and with marked success, having a congenial audience in the inhabitants of the chateau. Fifteen sermons are before us from this period, which are distinguished for moving chiefly in the domain of morals, for great subtlety of thought, and dialectical skill, rather than for the religious tendency held by those of a later date. But his stay in this "Elysium," as he calls this place in his letters, was short. An unhappy disagreement with the family caused a separation, painful to him, but necessary. He repaired to his uncle's house, and thence to Berlin, through the influence of Sack, as instructor in a seminary for teachers, and also in an Orphan Asylum. He remained here but six months, when, through the aid of the same friend, he received an appoint-

ment as preacher at Landesberg. Removed from the great intellectual centres, with few books at his command, and being too poor to purchase, he here studied but little. He had yet written nothing, though now twenty-six. His first literary work for the public was performed while at Landesberg. Sack proposed that he should join him in the translation of Blair's sermons; but, absorbed in other matters, left the work wholly to Schleiermacher. His effort was a success, and he was encouraged.

We have now arrived at the blooming period of Schleiermacher's life. He is now to come forth from obscurity, and appear as a rising star in the intellectual firmament. After two years at Landesberg, he returned to Berlin as preacher to the Hospital of Charity. Here his remarkable intellectual qualities soon attract attention, and bring him into intimate relations with a number of distinguished men. He soon moves in the highest social circles. One literary circle he frequented most — that which met at the house of Marc Herz, a celebrated Jewish physician, and of which his wife, Henrietta Herz, was the centre. She was a woman of remarkable character and brilliant attainments, as well as great personal beauty. With the highest culture she united all the graces and virtues of womanhood. She spoke most of the modern languages, and was familiar with Latin, Greek and Hebrew. In the literary circle that gathered at her house were some of the most distinguished men of that period, among whom we will only mention here the brothers Alexander and William von Humboldt, Brinkermann and Frederick Schlegel. Into this company Schleiermacher was introduced, and eventually became not only one of the most brilliant ornaments of the circle, but an intimate and cherished friend of the family. His relations with Henrietta Herz were those of the purest and most intimate friendship. Their great similarity of tastes was a bond of union which drew them gradually nearer together in 'a relation of beautiful sincerity and passionless purity, that was undisturbed through all the changes of years. His correspondence with her, which was continued long after

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their separation, reveals his inner life in some of its most beautiful phases, and shows how great an influence this remarkable woman exercised on the development of his character. It was she who urged him to overcome his natural repugnance for writing, and who, when he had commenced some of his immortal works, constantly encouraged him in their prosecution. Many of his manuscripts were submitted to her examination, though neither she nor Schlegel could ever induce him to make any important changes in what he had written. While his affection for Henrietta Herz did not transcend the limits of the pure friendship of noble minds, it responded to one of the deepest wants of his soul.[6] He thus writes to her, under date of February 15th, 1799: "Ah! dear Jette, be generous, and write often to me; that alone can keep me alive, for I cannot thrive in solitude. In truth, I am the most dependent and least self-sufficing of mortals; indeed, I sometimes doubt whether I am really an individual. I stretch out all my roots and leaves in search of affection. It is necessary for me to feel myself in immediate contact with it, and when I am unable to drink in full draughts of it, I dry up and wither. Such is my nature; there is no remedy for it; and, if there were, I should not wish to employ it." And again: "One very good thing Schlegel said about me in our conversation; I do not know how it has come to him, but true it is in all its applications. He said that I must exert myself to the utmost to keep up the freshness and vitality of my soul. No one is at all times so near extinction and decay as I am; I can neither construe nor demonstrate the fact, but it is, alas! but too true." And this to his sister, and also found in the *Monologues:* "With truth I may say that my friends do not die away from me; I take their life into my own, and their action upon me never ceases; but to me their dying is death. The life of friendship is a lovely series of accords, the common key-note of which dies away

[6] "This tendency," he says in a letter to his sister, "to attach myself more closely to women than to men, is deeply rooted in my nature; for there is so much in my soul that men seldom understand." And again, "It is through the knowledge of the feminine heart that I have learned to know what real human worth is."

when the friend departs from the world. Inwardly, indeed, it leaves an echo that resounds for a long while, and the music thereof continues; but the accompanying harmony is lost, to which I was the key-note, and this harmony was mine, as that which is in me was his. My action in him has ceased, therefore is a part of life lost. In dying, every living being deals out death, and he who has lost many friends by death, dies at last by their hand, because, excluded from all action upon those who constituted its world, and thrown back upon itself, the spirit consumes itself." To this same period belongs his friendship with the distinguished scholar, Friedrich Schlegel, with whom he commenced the translation of Plato. The influence upon the mind of Schleiermacher of this relation, which was sundered by irreconcilable differences of character, we cannot here attempt to trace. Indeed, we must leave the interesting study of the character of the man, and pass rapidly over the principal events of his life, to attain such a view of the theologian as our limits will permit.

From Berlin, Schleiermacher went to Stolpe, as Court-preacher in 1802. In 1804 he was called to Halle, as Professor of Theology. Some interesting characteristics of him at this period are given in the *Memoirs* of Prof. Steffens, who was appointed to fill the chair of Natural Philosophy in the University at about the same time.

"I was there to meet a man whose acquaintance was to form an epoch in my life. This was Schleiermacher, who was, at the same time as myself, or a few weeks later, called to Halle as *professor extraordinarius*. Schleiermacher, as is well known, was small of stature, and slightly deformed, but so slightly as hardly to be disfigured by it. His movements were quick and animated, his features highly expressive. A certain sharpness of his eye acted, perhaps, repulsively at times. He seemed, indeed, to look through every one. His face was long, his features sharply defined, his lips firmly and severely closed, his chin prominent, his eyes lively and full of fire, his look always earnest, collected and self-possessed. . . . . An unalterable composure, greater, mightier than every passing emotion, seemed to dominate his being. A

slight expression of irony played round his features; the sincerest sympathy ever animated his heart, and an almost child-like goodness shone through the outward calm."

In 1809, Schleiermacher married Henrietta von Willich, the youthful widow of one of his most cherished friends, E. von Willich, a clergyman. He removed with his bride to Berlin, where he was appointed to a professorship in the reconstituted University, and where he resided till his death, in 1834. His career during this period was worthy of the ripe manhood of a life that has been in youth thus disciplined and tried. His time was occupied with the duties of the professorship, the pulpit, extensive authorship, and with participation, for a time, in the administration of the government. He was also an active member of the Academy of Sciences; and, as he neglected no means of doing good, a large sphere of social influence occupied much of his time.

"He very rarely refused an invitation," says Henrietta Herz, "and also saw a great deal of company at his own house; but frequently, after the most luxurious and hilarious dinner-party or supper-party, he would sit down to his writing-table, in a moment be absorbed in the deepest speculations, and work far into the night. When it so happened that he had to preach the next day, and his drawing-room was full of company, he would draw aside for about a quarter of an hour, taking up his stand close to the stove, and looking thoughtfully straight before him. His most intimate friends were aware that at such moments he was reflecting on his sermon, and took care that he should not be disturbed. . . . Yet I have frequently heard him the next morning, after a preparation seemingly so insufficient, deliver the most deeply-reflected and deeply-felt discourse." [7]

Of his preaching Dr. Lücke further says: "No part of the sermon was committed to paper except the text and the theme. This he called writing his slip; and thus prepared, he entered the pulpit. Here the sermon took definite form, the mode of representation and the detailed execution being

[7] Leben und Erinnerungen.

the living product, not only of the preceding reflection, but also of the animating impression produced by the assembled congregation, and of the never-failing power of his mind over the order of his thoughts, and his equally unfailing command of language." [8]

Wilhelm von Humboldt also bears testimony to Schleiermacher's wonderful power in the pulpit:

"Of Schleiermacher it may be said, as of the greater number of very distinguished persons, but in an incomparably higher degree, that his speaking exceeded his writings in power. Those, therefore, who may have read his numerous writings ever so diligently, but never heard him speak, must remain unacquainted with the most rare power, and the most remarkable qualities of the man. His strength lay in the deeply penetrative character of his words. It would be wrong to call it rhetoric, for it was so entirely free from art. It was the persuasive, penetrative, kindling effusion of a feeling which seemed not so much to be enlightened by one of the rarest intellects, as to move side by side with it in perfect unison."

The prophetic words with which Neander announced the death of Schleiermacher, furnish the best introduction to what we have to say of him as a theologian. "*The man has departed, from whom, in the Future, will be dated a new epoch in theology.*" He was one of those rare men who possess originality — which is equivalent to genius; who create, bring the new out of the old, and open new paths into unknown realms. The characteristics which we have seen in the youth, indicate the essential spirit of the man. He was one of those independent, inquiring spirits, whose life is in research, free questioning and doubt; yet this was really the weakest side of his character; for his life was ruled by a profound religious faith, whose spring was in the very depths of his nature, and by which he held fast to the eternal realities of religion, though he might, with restless spirit, push the freest investigations, and elaborate the boldest and subtlest criticisms. Thus he never returned to the doctrines which he renounced on his

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separation from the Moravian Brethren, yet the tendency of faith which he there received appears in all the development of his character. As every man's thinking must be influenced more or less by the times in which he lives, so Schleiermacher's theology was the outgrowth of the tendencies of his age, as well as the expression of his own spiritual being. It was the form which his deeply religious nature gave to the thought of his times. This nature came in contact with two antagonistic tendencies — on the one hand, the spiritless, insipid orthodoxy, with its lifeless dogmas, its empty formality, and its dismal dearth of spirituality; on the other, the purely rationalistic, critical and philosophical tendency, which had borne its fruit in a lofty contempt of religion, or a condescending patronizing of it for the sake of example. Against both of these tendencies the soul of the great apostle of the "religion of feeling" revolted from its lowest depths. His attitude toward the former we have already seen. With the spirit of the latter, as far as concerns free inquiry and acute criticism, he was in essential sympathy, while opposing with vigor its rash and destructive excesses. There was a deep-seated conservatism in his nature, in rare combination with the critical faculty. Thus he says, in his peculiar way: "Whenever a one-sided tendency comes out too strongly, it is my manner, or perhaps I ought to say want of manners, out of natural fear lest the ship in which we all sail should capsize, to step with all my little weight upon the opposite side." Yet this confession is from the man who devoted all the resources of the astutest criticism and the profoundest scholarship to the demonstration of the spuriousness of the first Epistle to Timothy. In fact, it is one of the distinguishing features of Schleiermacher's theology, that it attempted to solve the problem of effecting a reconciliation between free critical investigation, and faith in the word of God and Jesus Christ. He did not shrink from applying the severest historical criticism to the books of the New Testament, as well as of the Old. And while he recognized much that was of human origin, ideal or legendary, in the one and the other, he held

firmly to both, as embodying the revealed word of God, and the essential truth of Christ. "He had but two enemies," says Dr. Lücke, "which he ever combatted anew as such, even to the last man — the slavery of the letter, and the frivolous superficiality, which denied, the one the freedom, and the other the eternal truth, of the Gospel." [9]

Schiller thus wrote, in 1804, of the religious wants of Berlin, and thus of Germany: "Berlin, in the dark times of doubt, first lit the torch of a reasonable religious freedom. This was then a glory and a necessity. Now, in times of unbelief, another fame is to be desired — *let it now add warmth to the light*, and adorn Protestantism, whose metropolis it was once appointed to be." Schleiermacher felt this before Schiller wrote it; and it was for him to realize the desire of the poet, and meet the want of the age. Confronted by the effete orthodoxy, and the scornful and patronizing scepticism, both equally emptied of spirituality, he endeavored to reconstruct a living religion on the ground of the common consciousness of mankind — a religion independent of dogmas and traditions, and having its seat in the innermost feelings and instincts of the soul. In this spirit was written, in the year 1799, his first work, entitled, "Discourses on Religion, addressed to the Cultivated among its Contemners." [10] Perhaps no work of the age produced so powerful an impression on all classes of society as this. It was written from the very depths of his soul, and its effect was no less profound. With attractive rhetoric, and the fire of youthful ardor, he vindicates the eternal claims of religion against the superficiality of the scorner, and shows how it is the spring of whatever is pure, heroic and divine in humanity.

He does not write, in these Discourses, with any dogmatic purpose; rather he seeks, after the principles of Jacobi, yet in a manner wholly original, to separate religion from dogmas, and bring it to its rights. The Discourses are apologies for religion in general, and for Christianity in particular, on their

[9] Studien u. Kritiken, 1834. S. 759.

[10] Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern.

separation from the Moravian Brethren, yet the tendency of faith which he there received appears in all the development of his character. As every man's thinking must be influenced more or less by the times in which he lives, so Schleiermacher's theology was the outgrowth of the tendencies of his age, as well as the expression of his own spiritual being. It was the form which his deeply religious nature gave to the thought of his times. This nature came in contact with two antagonistic tendencies — on the one hand, the spiritless, insipid orthodoxy, with its lifeless dogmas, its empty formality, and its dismal dearth of spirituality; on the other, the purely rationalistic, critical and philosophical tendency, which had borne its fruit in a lofty contempt of religion, or a condescending patronizing of it for the sake of example. Against both of these tendencies the soul of the great apostle of the "religion of feeling" revolted from its lowest depths. His attitude toward the former we have already seen. With the spirit of the latter, as far as concerns free inquiry and acute criticism, he was in essential sympathy, while opposing with vigor its rash and destructive excesses. There was a deep-seated conservatism in his nature, in rare combination with the critical faculty. Thus he says, in his peculiar way: "Whenever a one-sided tendency comes out too strongly, it is my manner, or perhaps I ought to say want of manners, out of natural fear lest the ship in which we all sail should capsize, to step with all my little weight upon the opposite side." Yet this confession is from the man who devoted all the resources of the astutest criticism and the profoundest scholarship to the demonstration of the spuriousness of the first Epistle to Timothy. In fact, it is one of the distinguishing features of Schleiermacher's theology, that it attempted to solve the problem of effecting a reconciliation between free critical investigation, and faith in the word of God and Jesus Christ. He did not shrink from applying the severest historical criticism to the books of the New Testament, as well as of the Old. And while he recognized much that was of human origin, ideal or legendary, in the one and the other, he held

firmly to both, as embodying the revealed word of God, and the essential truth of Christ. "He had but two enemies," says Dr. Lücke, "which he ever combatted anew as such, even to the last man — the slavery of the letter, and the frivolous superficiality, which denied, the one the freedom, and the other the eternal truth, of the Gospel." [9]

Schiller thus wrote, in 1804, of the religious wants of Berlin, and thus of Germany: "Berlin, in the dark times of doubt, first lit the torch of a reasonable religious freedom. This was then a glory and a necessity. Now, in times of unbelief, another fame is to be desired — *let it now add warmth to the light*, and adorn Protestantism, whose metropolis it was once appointed to be." Schleiermacher felt this before Schiller wrote it; and it was for him to realize the desire of the poet, and meet the want of the age. Confronted by the effete orthodoxy, and the scornful and patronizing scepticism, both equally emptied of spirituality, he endeavored to reconstruct a living religion on the ground of the common consciousness of mankind — a religion independent of dogmas and traditions, and having its seat in the innermost feelings and instincts of the soul. In this spirit was written, in the year 1799, his first work, entitled, "Discourses on Religion, addressed to the Cultivated among its Contemners." [10] Perhaps no work of the age produced so powerful an impression on all classes of society as this. It was written from the very depths of his soul, and its effect was no less profound. With attractive rhetoric, and the fire of youthful ardor, he vindicates the eternal claims of religion against the superficiality of the scorner, and shows how it is the spring of whatever is pure, heroic and divine in humanity.

He does not write, in these Discourses, with any dogmatic purpose; rather he seeks, after the principles of Jacobi, yet in a manner wholly original, to separate religion from dogmas, and bring it to its rights. The Discourses are apologies for religion in general, and for Christianity in particular, on their

[9] Studien u. Kritiken, 1834. S. 759.

[10] Ueber die Religion. Reden an die Gebildeten unter ihren Verächtern.

own intrinsic merits, — such apologies, says Lücke, as might have been delivered in the outer court of Theology, one might almost say, in the outer court of the Heathen. Yet, though not dogmatic, the Discourses contain the leading principles of his whole theology as developed at a later period. In them is clearly expressed the principle which constituted the chief peculiarity of his theology, and made it so influential on his times; made it, in fact, mark a new epoch. This principle was, that religion has its seat in the feelings; not in the feelings considered as the fleeting, changing emotions, but as the "innermost part of man, the central point, the focus of his spiritual life." Here is the birth-place and abode of piety, which he defines as a disposition and state of the feeling, and not consisting in knowledge or action. This subjectivity, which is the central principle of Schleiermacher's theology, makes religion the product of the soul itself, through a spiritual sense which discerns God, and its essence to be a profound consciousness of absolute dependence, which impels man to cast himself upon the infinite. Thus, religion in its primitive form is *feeling*, as the working of God in us, through the working of the world upon us. It is the feeling of the Infinite. Men of the most opposite tendencies have borne witness to the power of these Discourses. The celebrated Harms, who disagreed with Schleiermacher in many points, confesses that from the reading of them he dates the hour in which his higher life was born; and that he received from them the impulse of a movement that would never cease.

Of the *Monologues*,[11] Schleiermacher's next work, with which he greeted the New Year of the present century, it is difficult to give an analysis. They are pervaded with a strong spirit of freedom rising above the oppositions of circumstance, lofty aspiration springing from a noble self-consciousness, and a determined individuality, asserting itself with energy, independence, and a heroic self-reliance. "Do not separate," he says, "what is united in the being of man. Do in the world what thou mayest; impress on all things the stamp of thy

[11] Monologen. Eine Neujahrsgabe, Berlin, 1800, 1848.

individuality; but ever look into thyself; know what thou doest, and discern the measure and form of thy work. In such self-contemplation, thy eternal life begins. Care not for that which shall come; weep not for that which perishes; but care lest thou lose thyself, and weep when thou driftest forth on the stream of time without carrying heaven in thy bosom." While in the *Discourses* we see that it is the feeling of the Infinite, a oneness with God, that constitutes religion, and raises man to the highest, in the *Monologues* we see the practical side of religion, as consisting in a living, spiritual energy. In the next work, the Christmas Festival,[12] we see how the human life is perfected through oneness with Christ. These were all works of Schleiermacher's youth, while yet he had not shaped a complete system of doctrine.

His greatest theological work was the System of Faith,[13] first published in 1821. This was his crowning, "epoch-making" work, which has been compared, in historical significance, to the *Institutio* of Calvin. Here are fully developed and defended, with wonderful dialectical skill, the fundamental principles of the Discourses. "The subjective idealism of Fichte, and the faith-philosophy of Jacobi, are here seen to pour out all their treasures as humble contributions to the full expansion of the Christian doctrine."[14]

Of Schleiermacher's political influence we cannot here speak at length. Suffice it to say, that in the times of peril he was ever the brave advocate of national independence, and he perhaps did as much as any other man to encourage his people to throw off the French yoke. "His fresh, mighty, ever-cheerful spirit," says a cotemporary, "had the effect of a courageous army; and the energies which he set in motion were not isolated and superficial, but were the deepest and noblest in the human breast."

On the 12th of February, 1834, Schleiermacher died. His death was worthy of his noble Christian life. During his

[12] Die Weihnachtsfeier. Ein Gespräch, Berlin, 1806, 1827.

[13] Die Christliche Glaube nach den Grundsätzen der evangelischen kirche, &c dargestellt. Berlin, 1821, 1835.

[14] Morell, Philosophy of the Nineteenth Century.

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"He placed his two fingers upon his eye, as was his habit when reflecting deeply, and began to speak: 'I have never clung to the dead letter, and we have the atoning death of Jesus Christ, his body and his blood.' While saying this, he raised himself up, his countenance lighted up, his voice became clear and strong. He then asked, with priestly solemnity: 'Do you agree with me in this belief?' All replied with a loud 'Yes.' 'Then let us take the communion — quick! quick! let no one take offence at the form.' The necessary things having been brought in while all waited in solemn silence, an expression of heavenly rapture spread over his features, a strange lustre shone in his eyes, a look of beaming love fell upon all, and after a few words of devout prayer, he commenced the holy ceremony. He gave the bread first to his wife, then to all the rest present, and lastly himself, pronouncing each time distinctly the usual words, 'Take, eat,' &c. In like manner he administered the wine, and added, 'On these words of the Scripture I rely; they are the foundation of my faith.' After he had pronounced the

blessing, his eyes turned once more to his wife, with a look full of love, and he said, 'In this love and communion we are, and ever will remain, united.' He sank back on his pillow. The expression of heavenly rapture still dwelt on his countenance. After a few minutes, he said, 'Now I can no longer remain here.' He breathed heavily several times, and life was gone."

Article XXVII.

Christ's Work with all Souls.

Does Christianity encourage the hope of man's repentance and reformation beyond his earthly life?

What are we to understand by the reign of Jesus Christ, as this is spoken of in the New Testament? Are we not instructed therein as to its beginning, its process, its accomplishment, its end? What do these include? Is this reign limited to man in the present life, or does it extend beyond it? If it is a ministry of reforming or tranforming power in the next existence, in any measure, with any souls, may it not be in every needed measure with all souls?

The doctrine of human probation, as generally held in the Christian churches, regards this present life as a state of trial, the next as one of retribution. It affirms that the moral condition of every man is irrevocably fixed at death. What we are morally and spiritually when we leave this world, is what we shall continue to be; i. e., the righteous will remain righteous, and the wicked, wicked, and there can be no change from these fixed states hereafter, evermore. This doctrine, however, lacks definiteness on the part of those who would maintain it. It does not agree with other theological affirmations made by them. Witness, for instance, these contradictions:

1. The theory including that of human probation affirms that virtue is not fully rewarded, nor vice fully punished, in

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the present life. It even infers a future state on the ground of this incompleteness of the vindication here of God's justice with men, and argues another existence where its holy work will be effected. A change is thus implied. Virtue will have sure triumph, and vice receive its true reward from the all-righteous One. Perfect holiness and happiness will there be the portion of the righteous; perfect, endless sinfulness and wretchedness the portion of the ungodly. A change, surely, in the method of the divine administration in the future life, is here indicated.

2. Again, respecting the righteous, this theology affirms that here in the present life they are interested in the moral welfare and blessing of the most sinful of their kindred and race. They love, and pray, and labor, for them, not willing that they should suffer moral and spiritual death. They plead for the salvation of the whole world. The prospect of the endless suffering of any soul fills them with unspeakable anguish. Will it be thus with them in the future existence? Not according to another utterance of the theology in which they profess to believe. In this higher life they are not to pray for nor desire the salvation of the lost. So perfectly filled with the divine love are they, as to be eternally reconciled to all the misery of the lost, however near and dear the subjects of it were to them in this probationary sphere. "Perfect calmness and undisturbed joy" are to be theirs in view of this endless infliction of God's wrath upon his outcast offspring. How such a change can be possible under the divine administration, has never been clearly proved in the light of reason, and in accordance with the purest and tenderest affections of our nature. This, however, surely implies a change on the part of the righteous — a most revolting and appalling one.

3. A change in the character of the wicked is also affirmed by this theology. Repentance here is possible with them; in the future life, this privilege is denied them. With power still to sin, they will have no power to turn from their sinfulness. Owing allegiance to God, they will be necessitated to

sin forever. The idea that God would thus plan and conduct his administration with his intelligent offspring, is equally objectionable as the one respecting the righteous, to which we have just alluded.

4. Again, a change in our Heavenly Father himself is involved in this theology. We are taught by it to regard him as the friend of sinners, while they are in the present life; desiring here their salvation, and calling upon them to enter upon it as far as they may by their own will and effort. But it is also affirmed that in the life to come this paternal leniency on his part will no longer be known. His love for the sinner ends with the sinner's dying breath. Henceforth his mercy is withdrawn, and he will punish without pity, eternally. He will not be "there, as here, the sinner's friend."

Having before us these inconsistencies in what has been taught as Christian theology respecting the Present and Future of man, let us consider certain evidences which appear to us conclusive of the hope of man's repentance and reformation as these shall be needed beyond the present life.

1. One of the plainest statements in the Bible connected with the mortal dissolution of man is, that his spirit returns to God. The ancient book of Ecclesiastes so reads: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." Dr. Watts, indeed, writes of the soul of the sinner at death, that it

> "Ascends to God, not there to dwell,
> But hears its doom, and sinks to hell."

But this is in addition to the olden testimony just quoted. All souls return to their author, to Him who alone has the first and highest right to them, the right of disposal. And whatever may be his dealings with them, he will not, in anything, contradict that gracious paternity which first called them into being.

Again, we find no authority in the Bible for limiting the power or opportunity for repentance to this brief life. Texts have been invented to disprove such a supposition, like that

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one of pitiable notoriety, "As death leaves us, so judgment will find us." But we know of no text in the Scriptures which affirms that those who pass out of this world in sin must therefore remain sinful evermore.

And yet again, if those who die in sin, or in an unregenerate state, cannot repent, or be changed from their sinful condition; if with them sin becomes a necessity of their being, are they not absolved from all further obligation to love God or to obey his law? The ability to repent being lost, the obligation to do so must cease, and the law of God be no more binding upon the soul. But if the ability and obligation remain, why not also the possibility of repentance, amendment, reconciliation?

And furthermore, what of the sinfulness of man at death? In one sense, do not all men die in sin, or with something of a sinful nature adhering to them? The best and holiest of whom we have heard or known, were they unexceptionable in purity, and perfectly conformed to the law and will of God? If there can be no change after death, can there be any prospect of perfect obedience and holiness on the part of Christian believers, even, in the future life? If none who die in sin can amend and be saved, is heaven sure to any one in the life to come?

We present these considerations because we understand them to be involved in any full and fair investigation of our subject. If asked to give direct proof that there can be a change after death, we propose to do this not altogether in explicit affirmations of the Scriptures. It is believed by nearly all Christians that all infants will be saved, and without exception that we shall retain our personal identity, and recognize kindred and friends in the immortal realm, although direct affirmations of these doctrines are not made in the Scriptures. But from what they do teach respecting the immortal life, these doctrines seem clearly implied, and the evidence is just as conclusive to our mind as if they were stated in so many words on the sacred page. If we do not read in the Bible such texts as "Men may repent after death," or,

"Sinners can turn to God and be saved, through Christ, in the next state of existence as surely as in this," we do find that which brings before us some of the weightiest evidences which we can ask in support of the doctrine of repentance and reformation of the imperfect and sinful of our race in the life to come.

1. Among these evidences let us consider that of the unchangeableness of God. He has signified his special and impartial love for sinners in this present world. He so loved them as to send to them "a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord." He is paternally interested in the salvation of his offspring. All Christian gospels, whatever other differences sects make in them, testify to this, God's interest, here and now, in the sinner's welfare. It is with this conviction that the Christian missionary goes to the ends of the earth. We regard this conviction as that of indisputable truth, the truth of God in Christ Jesus. And thus regarding it, we are prepared to believe and affirm that our Heavenly Father will love sinners, and seek their salvation in the life to come. "He cannot deny himself. — He is in one mind, and none can turn him."

2. Let us also consider God's enmity to sin, as well as his love of the sinful. One of the prominent mistakes of theologians is that which makes God the enemy of sinners, while the Scriptures represent him as being opposed to sin, and at the same time the friend of the transgressor. God's paternal love is specially manifested toward man, "in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." A good earthly father does not become the enemy of his children because of their transgressions. God's face is set eternally against wrong and sin, while his love goes out after the erring, calling upon them to return to him and find pardon and peace. Infinitely good himself, and opposed to iniquity, what but presumption is it to suppose that he will permit it to exist, and increase, and reign, in opposition to him, evermore? When we hear it affirmed that God is so holy that he cannot look upon sin with allowance, and that for this reason it is impossible for some sinners to enter into heavenly enjoyments; when we are

told that the salvation of all men is impossible, because of God's holiness and opposition to wrong, and realize how sinful most men are when they leave this world; we come to conclusions directly opposite to those sanctioned by our common theologies. We reason from God's very abhorrence of sin, that he will employ no means to perpetuate it, and from his goodness and power, that he will overcome and destroy it. Placing all the wicked away by themselves, where they will remain sinning against him forever, is by no means subduing the rebellion against his government. It is only a continuance of it. Sin is not finished, transgression is not ended, righteousness and loyalty to the divine government are not completely triumphant, any more than rebellion against our own government would be effectually subdued, by placing all the rebels of all the States in one particular State by themselves. The spirit of rebellion would be living still.

God's opposition to sin, as we understand his character, and the intent of his administration, will lead him to take measures for the complete destruction of its spirit and reign. He will not place man in a condition where he will defy and break his laws, and blaspheme his name eternally. Such a course would prove him the enemy of man, instead of the enemy of sin; but being the enemy of sin, and the friend of man, he would destroy sin, and save the sinner. It is impossible for us to understand, as another has wisely written, "that to preserve sin in the universe, God will defeat his own purposes, reverse his moral government, change man's highest nature, and render nugatory the whole economy of his grace."

Most Christians, we presume, are ready to admit, that when men pass out of the present life, they take with them their reason, their moral sense, their religious needs. They are still beings having a sense of duty and responsibility. To be capable of punishment, the soul must be capable of reformation. As long as moral obligation remains, the power of returning to God must be conceded; for he has claims upon his children as much as he has relationship with them. They are bound to obey him, wherever in his presence they may exist.

God will not hold them to this obligation when it is morally impossible for them to answer to it by obedience and reconciliation to him. "A God of truth, without iniquity, just and right is he."

We may consider, furthermore, that no man is fully saved in the present life. Some of the purest Christians the earth has known, have realized this. "If we say we have no sin," writes the Apostle John, "we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." "For we who are in this tabernacle," says Paul, "do groan, being burdened; not that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." There is a good beyond the present, never here fully realized, which the Christian believer has looked for by faith. Said the dying Selden, "Of all the texts I have ever dwelt upon in my ministry, no one gives me more comfort in the present time than this: 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.'" He had hope in the transforming power beyond this mortal dissolution. Said the venerable Lyman Beecher, as he stood upon the confines of the immortal world, "Until this evening, my hope was a conditional one, but now it is full, free, entire."

This position, that all men are saved in a greater or less degree after the present life, is logically involved in the different creeds of the day. For example, the 39th Article of the Episcopal Church, speaking of original sin, says, "This infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate." And the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, says "Sanctification is throughout in the whole man, yet imperfect in this life; — there abideth still some remains of corruption in every part, whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable war, the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. The imperfection of sanctification in believers ariseth from the remnants of sin abiding in every part of them, and the perpetual lusting of the flesh against the spirit; whereby they are often assailed with temptations, and fall into many sins, are hindered in all their spiritual services, and their best

works are imperfect in the sight of God." The need of change is surely here implied — a change for the better, before a sinless condition can be reached. Is this imperfection to go with those who have it, into the future life? If not, then they must be saved, to a certain needed extent, in that Future; and since there is no other Saviour but Christ, they must be saved after death, through him. And thus is demonstrated the truth that his redeeming grace does not cease at death, but takes up the soul at its entrance into the resurrection world, and enlightens and guides it in divine things, till it attains to that purity and blessedness answering to our highest conceptions of the term "heaven," or to the words of Jesus, "Equal unto the angels." And through this resurrection change, this uplifting into the image of God, all alike must pass, differing only in degrees, saint and sinner, believer and unbeliever, Christian and pagan; those who have learned the name of Christ in this world, and those who have never heard of him till they passed over the boundaries of the earthly, into the immortal realm.

4. We come to the Scriptures, and here find clear and ample evidence of that work of Christ which comprehends the whole ground of our subject, and gives us surest aid in the elucidation of it.

As soon as we begin to read of disobedience and death in the world as connected with man, we perceive that God has a controversy with evil; that his infinite goodness is set in opposition to it; and that means are bespoken by which man is to have deliverance therefrom. This is signified in that announcement to our first parents, that "the seed of the woman" should bruise the serpent's head; in the promise made to the patriarchs, that in the seed of Abraham all nations, families and kindreds of the earth should be blessed; in the angelic announcement of a good which was for "all people"; in the coming of the Deliverer himself, to "take away the sin of the world"; in the clear and strong statement of the Apostle respecting his mission, its process and consummation. He sets forth the reign of Christ. It had its beginning, and would

have its progress, its accomplishment, its end. Of this last-named event he says, "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." Immediately preceding this passage we read, "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order; Christ the first fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming. Then cometh the end." The end here mentioned is the end of Christ's mediatorial reign; of his separate kingdom as a Saviour. Having received it from the Father, he at last yields it up to him. But not until his work is accomplished, not until all things are subjected to his spiritual rule, — all opposing authorities and powers, — not until death, the last enemy, is destroyed — swallowed up in the victory of life immortal (and the last enemy implies that all other enemies are subjugated before it, as error, ignorance and sin); not until all are "made alive" in him, or until the resurrection work is completed, and all are raised up in the glory of the heavenly. Then, and not until then, is "the end" of Christ's saving action and rule. His relation to the soul as Teacher and Redeemer, does not cease at death, but continues until after the resurrection is completed, until the last enemy is destroyed, and all evil is overcome. Then comes the surrender of this kingdom to God the Father, "that God may be all in all." 1 Cor. xv.

It is here that we find an answer to that question often proposed, "If Jesus came to save all men from sin, and if, as we know, vast numbers of our race die in a sinful state, without ever having heard of his mission or his name, how can he with propriety be accounted the Saviour of all?" The mistake on the part of those who ask this question, is, in limiting or restricting the power of Christ as a Saviour, to the present life; in supposing that at the death of each individual his redeeming power over the soul ceases. We find nothing in the New Testament to justify this error, and the language of

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Nothing is more clearly stated in the Scriptures than the authority, power and reign of God, through Christ his Son. "The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands. — And this is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day." It is thus that he is "Lord of all," that he "tasted death for every man." When God raised him up from the dead, he "set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church, which is his body, the fullness of him that filleth all in all." This truth of his exaltation and unlimited dominion is expressed also by an Apostle, who tells us that he "is gone into heaven, and is on the right hand of God; angels, and authorities, and powers, being made subject unto him." And if they are made subject to him, surely men, who are inferior to them, must be. Christ died and rose again, that he might be Lord, i. e., governor and judge, both of the living and the dead — of all human souls, without regard to time or place. Thus retrospective and prospective are the life, and death, and work, of Christ. It is thus that "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name that is above every name, that at (in) the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven,

and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Thus, "it pleased the Father, that in him should all fulness dwell, and having made peace by the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself — whether they be things on earth or things in heaven." It is in this light that we interpret the Apocalyptic word, "I am He that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive forevermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell (hades) and of death." Over the realm of the dead Jesus has dominion, that he may effect deliverance and salvation.

Such is the work of our divine forerunner, the victory which he is to achieve, the blessing he is to impart to all for whom he came in the mercy and love of the Father. "Wherefore," as we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." For, "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." In the expressive language of Dr. Adam Clarke, "Thus we find that salvation from sin here is as extensive and complete as the guilt and contamination of sin. Death is conquered, hell disappointed, the devil confounded, and sin totally destroyed."

And as the light of Christian inquiry goes abroad, the more clearly will this conception of God's unlimited grace, through Christ his Son, be revealed and accepted. It is the doctrine of the New Testament. It has been in the church more or less, in the Past; more in the brightest, and less in the darkest times of its history. It is demanding utterance now, more than ever before, since the first centuries of the Christian era. The old partial theology is giving way before it. The doctrine of God's paternity is having surer vindication than ever. The irrepressible question, What has become of that vast number who have died in the Past, what of the condition of those who are dying in the Present, and who will die

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A few thoughts as to the tendency of this doctrine:

1. It presents to us the nature of salvation as this is taught in the New Testament. Instead of insisting upon salvation as an escape from endless woes hereafter — insurance against an irreversible doom in the Future, it teaches us that the salvation we most need, and should seek, is release from wrong now, the immediate renunciation of sin, the life of obedience to the law of love, the only true life of the soul in this or in any other world; a salvation to be sought just as the hungry would seek bread, the thirsty, water, the sick one, health. Salvation is the soul's health, and strength, and peace; freedom from the desire to sin, and from the evil of sinning, whether in the present or in any other world. And the sooner we effect our deliverance from this thraldom, the better for us in all that involves our highest and most enduring good. This is the lesson ever to be enforced and impressed upon all souls by that ministry of reconciliation which the New Testament reveals and sustains; a ministry in which all Christian sects ought, with one accord, to unite.

2. This places the work of our earthly life-day plainly before us, forbidding that blind and stupid conclusion that if there is hope for all beyond the present life, there is little or no inducement to seek salvation here. This conclusion, we believe, never found permanent lodgment in any mind that had fairly and thoroughly considered what was involved in it.

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We are to understand, then, not that a true life here is to be sought mainly for the good it will secure to us hereafter, but for its sure and present gain. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come"; i. e., godliness only is the truest, highest life anywhere in the universe of the Almighty. What we deny is, not the future, as well as the present, gain of godliness; but that the lack of present godliness in any soul precludes the possibility of the attainment of it by that soul in the Future. This we deny; and rejoice in the hope of that mercy which is as boundless as the resources of the Infinite One, and will effect the redemption of all souls from

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"Yet do thou, Lord, by thy supreme conviction,
Give them to feel, that tho' their sins are great,
Thy love and mercy know not our restriction,
And that with thee it never is too late."

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Process of God in Nature.

MAN is involved in a world of mystery, and is an enigma to himself. He knows that he exists. He cannot persuade himself that he is a dream or a myth. He knows that his senses take cognizance of the external world; he sees, hears and feels. He knows that he possesses a mind capable of reflection; of evolving thoughts from within, and grasping ideas through the impression of external objects. He looks abroad upon the vast universe of matter, and his powers of thought are drawn out inevitably in the direction of the origin and nature of things. He knows that earth, sun and stars exist, and the inquiry is excited, whence came they? He deems them void of intelligence or sensation, and yet viewing in them the evidences of design, he concludes they could not have made themselves, that they are not the product of aimless chances; and the inflexible deductions of science compel the admission that their present condition is attained through a long and advancing series.

Pressing his inquiries still further, he asks when was the first of the series? or was there a beginning to sun, star, or the matter of which they are composed? or has not matter in some form eternally existed? He feels it impossible to form an idea of blank nonentity; and that something should result from nothing is equally an impossible thought. Forced, thus,

to the conclusion that something must eternally have existed, and also that that something must have involved life and intelligence, he, by a natural process of the mind, arrives at the idea of a first Intelligent Cause, which he names God.

Let the mind revert to the most primitive condition of matter, yet we cannot escape the thought of time or duration involved; and it is equally impossible to conceive of duration as subsisting in nonentity. The mind, however, can imagine a vast chaotic mass — an opaque space in which moves no sensuous form or atom — and void of any vestige of life. Such must forever have remained the condition of the motionless, lifeless, Godless, universal chaos. Yet even this blank chaos associates the idea of infinite expansion; for it would be as impossible to fix a boundary to this chaos, as a terminus to eternity, or a point beyond which blank nothingness reigns. Thus, should we divest it of everything else, this vast void must still remain, and with it the necessary idea of eternal duration. Of this thought we cannot rid the mind; it is inherent as is the capacity by which we think; and we reach this conclusion by the imperative law of limitation involved in the nature of the inquiry. Therefore, divested of God, life and motion, still these three elements, eternity, entity and expansion, must always have existed, and must eternally remain.

Such being the inevitable condition of nature without motion, so it would ever have remained. But without life there could not be motion, for motion supposes the existence of a living force; and unless there be a God in whom life and its attributes are inherent, there could be neither life nor motion. And it is more rational to conclude that life, intelligence, and all the evidences of design and adaptation, as seen in the varied expositions of nature, are the product of an eternally self-existent, Intelligent Cause, than to regard them as the result of the original chaos in which life and its concomitants did not exist. This latter supposition would rob God of the eternity of his being and make him a creature of the previously existing chaos; and would reduce the argument to a

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Let the mind revert to the most primitive condition of matter, yet we cannot escape the thought of time or duration involved; and it is equally impossible to conceive of duration as subsisting in nonentity. The mind, however, can imagine a vast chaotic mass — an opaque space in which moves no sensuous form or atom — and void of any vestige of life. Such must forever have remained the condition of the motionless, lifeless, Godless, universal chaos. Yet even this blank chaos associates the idea of infinite expansion; for it would be as impossible to fix a boundary to this chaos, as a terminus to eternity, or a point beyond which blank nothingness reigns. Thus, should we divest it of everything else, this vast void must still remain, and with it the necessary idea of eternal duration. Of this thought we cannot rid the mind; it is inherent as is the capacity by which we think; and we reach this conclusion by the imperative law of limitation involved in the nature of the inquiry. Therefore, divested of God, life and motion, still these three elements, eternity, entity and expansion, must always have existed, and must eternally remain.

Such being the inevitable condition of nature without motion, so it would ever have remained. But without life there could not be motion, for motion supposes the existence of a living force; and unless there be a God in whom life and its attributes are inherent, there could be neither life nor motion. And it is more rational to conclude that life, intelligence, and all the evidences of design and adaptation, as seen in the varied expositions of nature, are the product of an eternally self-existent, Intelligent Cause, than to regard them as the result of the original chaos in which life and its concomitants did not exist. This latter supposition would rob God of the eternity of his being and make him a creature of the previously existing chaos; and would reduce the argument to a

philosophical absurdity, by making the effect infinitely greater than its procuring cause.

We are thus conducted to the more rational conclusion that God *is*. He is the "I AM THAT I AM"; and yet eternity is connate with, and inherent in him. And the limitless entity from eternity co-subsisted with him, and hence, he *is* the real entity, life and intelligence.

As space is limitless, and eternally associates some form of matter — is itself something — it naturally suggests the corresponding thought of infinite number. No process of reduction can diminish, no amount of addition increase, the exhaustless fulness. We are aware that this appears to be a mathematical contradiction, yet philosophy and reason assert and confirm it. The same difficulty obtains in the idea of infinite duration, yet the reasoning powers of the mind constrain the conclusion, however it may seem to conflict with our consciousness of the law of addition and reduction. The same necessity presses the corresponding conclusion to the proposition concerning the infinitude of space and number. So, as there can be no centre nor circumference to the limitless ether, no period to endless duration, there can be no limit to the absolute infinitude of number.

Reasoning from the foregoing data, this is the sum: As God must eternally have existed, and in him inhered life and all its concomitants, there never could have been a point in the infinite cycle when he or any of his attributes lay inert. And as he could act but in harmony with every principle of his nature, his love, wisdom, will and power must all eternally have acted in exact and conjoint harmony. His wisdom must eternally contrive in coincidence with the law of his life, and that law must be justified by the happiness it dictates; and to this end the creative power is eternally employed.

To maintain an eternal equilibrium, every element in the creative process must perform its respective uninterrupted functions. The attributes of goodness, wisdom and power in God must act conjointly to this end. There could be no harmony of design but in conformity to the principle prompting

to its execution, while the design would lie latent but for the power to accomplish the work proposed. Agreeably to this it follows that the creative energy did not slumber, waiting for the prompting motive, or for lack of a design upon the trestle-board of creation lie inert for an eternity past. We can form a correct estimate of the character of the Creator, only by investing attributes with like qualities as himself.

Take the known as the basis by which to form an estimate of the unknown. Man in his perfect individualized being is composed of mental, moral and sensuous qualities. These all combine to make up his selfhood. All the elements of his nature must perform their part in order that he may fully realize his being. While he breathes the air, and the blood circulates in his arteries, the mental process also is performed. He thinks and reasons, and proves himself an intellectual being, and by an appeal to his consciousness knows himself a moral being. These, all harmoniously united, constitute the perfect man. And by the healthful performance of their functions, he maintains not only his selfhood, but also his equilibrium. Deprive him of either his mental, moral or physical faculties, and he is no longer perfect man. Furthermore, his consciousness, intuition and reason all unite to assure him that he *is*, and is invested with his own individuality. His consciousness and reason assure him that without any volition of his own he possesses every element necessary to his individualized being, and the performance of all the functions of his nature. He knows he thinks, and if he observe the action of the mind, he will discover that the thinking process is involuntarily performed. But *how* he thinks, and by *what* wonderful magic he reasons, he cannot tell. He but knows that he did not originate himself, or organize his moral or reasoning powers. He knows, moreover, that while he thinks and reasons, his moral consciousness pervades his being, and accompanies him in every portion of his varied journey. Yea, while he thinks, reasons, and maintains his consciousness, he is also cognizant of the fact that in behalf of his physical parts, he breathes the vital air; the blood con-

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tinues its flow; his digestive powers perform their functions; he sees, hears and feels. Precisely how all these things are accomplished, he knows not. He knows, only, that the faculties involved all act conjointly in the individualized, living, conscious man.

We have now but to apply this illustration to the various elements inherent in the composition of the Eternal, and so make obvious the fact that all must coöperatively unite in maintaining the eternity and equilibrium of the Creator, endowing him with the capacity to perform every function of his nature. Being eternally perfect, all the elements of his being must be, like himself, eternally perfect. No incipient stages corresponding to childhood and youth mark any of his attributes. Thus, no opportunity offers for the possible conjecture that there ever was a point in the Infinite cycle when any of the elements of his nature *began* to exert their power and perform their work. They all eternally acted in conjoint and efficient harmony. Indeed, we might as consistently write of man as knowing himself while destitute of the consciousness of his being, as to philosophize upon the Infinite wisdom, goodness and power, while for an eternity past they confessedly lay inert, and for all practical purposes, dead. In such condition God could not have consciousness of himself, nor realize the capacities of his nature.

But while the eternity of duration is always conceded, and also the associate idea of limitless space, the additional and necessary thought of the infinitude of number does not seem to have occurred as a subject of philosophic consideration. All the deductions of science in this direction seem to extend no farther than the supposition that once, in the far-distant Past, nought else existed but God enshrouded in his own dreamy, motionless eternity. And after an inconceivable lapse of time his spirit awoke from its long slumber; and, at his omnific word, out of the darkness streamed the light; out of chaos, form; and out of confusion, order. In a word, a marvellously grand and glorious system of mind and matter, at one simultaneous bound, sprang into being; and then the

exact skill which designed and fashioned it, and the mighty force which heaved it from blank chaos, having, thus, once acted, the creative mind again retired within itself, to be forever only the silent witness of the continuous play of nature's harmonious laws.

Such would seem to be the status of the universe as understood from the current views of astronomy; but it does not fully answer the demands of a far-seeing inquiry, and cannot be harmonized with the conceptions of the "Eternal Godhead and Power" evolving eternally all life, matter and intelligence.

Here the thought occurs — If space be illimitable and number infinite, would not this suggest the existence of two infinitudes; and also the seeming contradiction that one infinitude contains another? or must not limitless space be greater than the number contained?

However, there is really no more difficulty in the thought of the infinitude of worlds than in the illimitability of space. The one thought, indeed, is necessitated by the other. The space does not contain the number, save in the sense in which the number involves the space; but each exists by its own necessary law in perfect analogy with the other, each being also analogous with the eternity inherent in God.

Therefore, as space is boundless and admits not of measurement, the fulness of its capacity can never be approximated. Eternally filling, yet never full, the infinitude of number remains ever the same.

We now propose to show that the foregoing reasoning is not idle speculation; for the conclusion which is here reached conducts to the marked discrimination between intellect and consciousness, and will materially aid us in our effort at reconciling the seeming conflict between consciousness and philosophy, between the Divine sovereignty and human responsibility.

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hostile attitudes. Science and our own consciousness approve and confirm the proposition that if a part be taken from a given quantity, it will be diminished to the extent of the sum subtracted; and that when added to, it is increased to the value of the addition. But philosophically considered, an infinitude — such as eternity, space or number — may have constant additions, and yet the sum be not increased, or be eternally reduced, and yet not diminished. This statement is scientifically absurd, and our consciousness so decides it; but philosophy and the verdict of the intellect declare that, by a law of necessity, much as our consciousness may disapprove, the statement must be correct. Thus, that which consciousness says must be false, intellect says must be true, and when the verdict of consciousness ends, the intellect resumes the problem, and carries it beyond the sphere of consciousness. The intellect can apprehend the verdict of consciousness, and more. It can recognize that a given quantity by addition may be increased, or by reduction diminished; and it can also sanction the deduction of the inherent philosophy of the intellect, that an eternal addition does not increase, nor an eternal subtraction reduce an absolute infinitude. Thus, that which in the realm of consciousness is discord, in the realm of philosophy is harmony.

We wish now to pass on, and try the reconciling power of this philosophy in the domain of morals. Let us test it by reference to the moral government of God as approved by the verdict of consciousness. Man is not only an intelligent, he is a moral, being. By the law of the moral faculty within him, he has an apprehension of moral qualities; one class of feelings, thoughts and deeds of which the moral sense takes cognizance, by its verdict stand approved, another class by the same law is condemned. The one class excites pleasurable emotions in his moral nature, the other is a source of infelicity and pain.

Thus, the intuitions of the moral sense attest that man is morally responsible. He is responsible to his own consciousness of right and wrong, to himself, to his kind, and to his

God. And by its verdict he stands approved or condemned according as his thoughts, words and deeds are virtuous or vicious. This moral consciousness inquires not whether a vicious intention may not result in good, and thus seek a justification of the deed; for no palliation of its guilt can absolve from sin, or remove the censure of its own verdict, so long as it feels that an evil intention dictates the deed.

At this point, however, the intellect interposes its verdict, and reasons thus: God is the author of all things. He is is infinitely good, wise and just. His will, wisdom and power are absolute; and he is the primary source of all "things and events." His knowledge is absolute, comprehending and declaring the end from the beginning, and nothing can transpire without his knowledge and permission. He cannot see or know any thing or event in the Future as contingent, or as involving, simply, an hypothesis; for this would suppose the knowledge of that which would never happen. Therefore, with God nothing can rest on contingency — no hypothesis with him; all is absolute knowledge. Now, as God has constituted man, and conferred upon him faculties capable of both good and evil, and as he most certainly knew before creating him what would be his tendency to evil; wherefore impart a consciousness of moral qualities, which could not by its verdict of condemnation prevent the sinful deeds, which the infinite mind infallibly knew would be the result?

Hence originates what seems the irreconcilable conflict between the verdicts of reason and conscience. Conscience regards not the plea of reason, which would shift the responsibility of the sinful action, or palliate the guilt. Hence, we repeat, the conflict — reason excuses; moral consciousness condemns.

Take another view — Moral consciousness allows and acts upon its own responsibility; while the intellect refers the responsibility to God, affirming that even its own volitions are moulded and controlled by the Omnipotent will and law.

The reason of this conflict is found in the incapacity of

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moral consciousness to apprehend the philosophy of the mind. The one affirms what it *feels*, the other affirms the deductions of its ratiocination. Consciousness confines its conclusions to the finite, and cannot approach the infinite where the intellect ascends.

But suppose we say that to the human understanding there be a conflict between the sovereignty of God and human responsibility inherent in the moral law; and between the human understanding and moral consciousness; yet this conflict subsists, also, in the law of nature and of nature's God; and it is this which in the realms of reason and morals constitutes the infinite; as do eternity, space and number in the realms of science and philosophy. Were this not so, man in precept could comprehend and analyze the moral nature of God; and in philosophy could fathom the Infinite, bound the limitless, count the stars, and their endless ages, and calculate the scheme of eternity.

After all, there is *really* no conflict between the supremacy of the Divine will and the law of his holy government; they have a Divine unity of base, but diversity of operation. We can reason from what we know — from the known up to the unknown; and we arrive at what we know through the medium of the senses.

Our consciousness assures us that we are moral beings. We have, as seen, an inherent conception of right and wrong, and through the senses in general is obtained knowledge of moral qualities in others, as evinced by the disposition and characteristics they discover in their conduct. The point being conceded, that man is a moral being, and holds himself accountable to the Divine code, we remark that he, also, is an intellectual being, and capable of employing his reasoning faculty. But the reasoning faculty is often led to the contemplation of subjects which have no necessary connection with moral qualities; and yet this fact does not argue inharmony in the mind. Rather, it is proof of the capacity to realize harmony amid all the seeming discord and conflicts of life. And by this power of adaptation to the requirements of his

nature, man discovers unity in variety, and agreement in diversity.

By applying this reasoning to the varied processes of God in nature, we shall discover, also, that his character is vindicated in all his ways and works, and that with him there is no conflict in the domain of the intellect and morals.

The most superficial glance at the phases of nature, reveal variety as the leading characteristic which marks it. From the smallest particle of matter up to the highest type of mind, however related and marked the similarity, no two are found precisely alike. Yet how infinitely dissimilar the forms and characteristics in the animal kingdom, as in the kingdoms of nature below it! Whence this diversity? No one supposes that it was necessary for the Creator to pause in the work of creation, and study out the multiplied varieties of worlds and beings, and then proceed with labored skill to mould them into their beautiful forms and proportions. Rather, all this infinite diversity has its base in the inherent and necessary law subsisting in him.

Thus, as in the domain of the finite, we have relative unity in diversity, likewise, with the Creator, we find infinite variety in Divine unity. In this view, we again reconcile the seeming conflict between the creative sovereignty and human responsibility. For as we can discover infinite variety in the grades and forms of living creatures in earth and skies, and yet see in them an evidence of the creative unity; in like manner the creative sovereignty, and the consciousness of moral responsibility, have their base in the law of diversity in God. Hence, we have infinite diversity reposing in Divine unity; and thus, from every point of view, are conducted to the central idea of the sovereignty and harmony absolute in God.

The foregoing reasoning furnishes a basis by which to justify the continued activity of God's creative energies.

The happiness of God results primarily from his own life, for it is a law of all life, that it finds the source of its happiness in its own selfhood. And not only is the production of

darkness to light, from bondage to liberty, from sin to holiness. So that for the most hopeless, as man would regard them, we may adopt the prayer which another has so impressively uttered:

"Yet do thou, Lord, by thy supreme conviction,
Give them to feel, that tho' their sins are great,
Thy love and mercy know not our restriction,
And that with thee it never is too late."

ARTICLE XXVIII.

The Process of God in Nature.

MAN is involved in a world of mystery, and is an enigma to himself. He knows that he exists. He cannot persuade himself that he is a dream or a myth. He knows that his senses take cognizance of the external world; he sees, hears and feels. He knows that he possesses a mind capable of reflection; of evolving thoughts from within, and grasping ideas through the impression of external objects. He looks abroad upon the vast universe of matter, and his powers of thought are drawn out inevitably in the direction of the origin and nature of things. He knows that earth, sun and stars exist, and the inquiry is excited, whence came they? He deems them void of intelligence or sensation, and yet viewing in them the evidences of design, he concludes they could not have made themselves, that they are not the product of aimless chances; and the inflexible deductions of science compel the admission that their present condition is attained through a long and advancing series.

Pressing his inquiries still further, he asks when was the first of the series? or was there a beginning to sun, star, or the matter of which they are composed? or has not matter in some form eternally existed? He feels it impossible to form an idea of blank nonentity; and that something should result from nothing is equally an impossible thought. Forced, thus,

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Pressing his inquiries still further, he asks when was the first of the series? or was there a beginning to sun, star, or the matter of which they are composed? or has not matter in some form eternally existed? He feels it impossible to form an idea of blank nonentity; and that something should result from nothing is equally an impossible thought. Forced, thus,

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Let the mind revert to the most primitive condition of matter, yet we cannot escape the thought of time or duration involved; and it is equally impossible to conceive of duration as subsisting in nonentity. The mind, however, can imagine a vast chaotic mass — an opaque space in which moves no sensuous form or atom — and void of any vestige of life. Such must forever have remained the condition of the motionless, lifeless, Godless, universal chaos. Yet even this blank chaos associates the idea of infinite expansion; for it would be as impossible to fix a boundary to this chaos, as a terminus to eternity, or a point beyond which blank nothingness reigns. Thus, should we divest it of everything else, this vast void must still remain, and with it the necessary idea of eternal duration. Of this thought we cannot rid the mind; it is inherent as is the capacity by which we think; and we reach this conclusion by the imperative law of limitation involved in the nature of the inquiry. Therefore, divested of God, life and motion, still these three elements, eternity, entity and expansion, must always have existed, and must eternally remain.

Such being the inevitable condition of nature without motion, so it would ever have remained. But without life there could not be motion, for motion supposes the existence of a living force; and unless there be a God in whom life and its attributes are inherent, there could be neither life nor motion. And it is more rational to conclude that life, intelligence, and all the evidences of design and adaptation, as seen in the varied expositions of nature, are the product of an eternally self-existent, Intelligent Cause, than to regard them as the result of the original chaos in which life and its concomitants did not exist. This latter supposition would rob God of the eternity of his being and make him a creature of the previously existing chaos; and would reduce the argument to a

philosophical absurdity, by making the effect infinitely greater than its procuring cause.

We are thus conducted to the more rational conclusion that God *is*. He is the "I AM THAT I AM"; and yet eternity is connate with, and inherent in him. And the limitless entity from eternity co-subsisted with him, and hence, he *is* the real entity, life and intelligence.

As space is limitless, and eternally associates some form of matter — is itself something — it naturally suggests the corresponding thought of infinite number. No process of reduction can diminish, no amount of addition increase, the exhaustless fulness. We are aware that this appears to be a mathematical contradiction, yet philosophy and reason assert and confirm it. The same difficulty obtains in the idea of infinite duration, yet the reasoning powers of the mind constrain the conclusion, however it may seem to conflict with our consciousness of the law of addition and reduction. The same necessity presses the corresponding conclusion to the proposition concerning the infinitude of space and number. So, as there can be no centre nor circumference to the limitless ether, no period to endless duration, there can be no limit to the absolute infinitude of number.

Reasoning from the foregoing data, this is the sum: As God must eternally have existed, and in him inhered life and all its concomitants, there never could have been a point in the infinite cycle when he or any of his attributes lay inert. And as he could act but in harmony with every principle of his nature, his love, wisdom, will and power must all eternally have acted in exact and conjoint harmony. His wisdom must eternally contrive in coincidence with the law of his life, and that law must be justified by the happiness it dictates; and to this end the creative power is eternally employed.

To maintain an eternal equilibrium, every element in the creative process must perform its respective uninterrupted functions. The attributes of goodness, wisdom and power in God must act conjointly to this end. There could be no harmony of design but in conformity to the principle prompting

to its execution, while the design would lie latent but for the power to accomplish the work proposed. Agreeably to this it follows that the creative energy did not slumber, waiting for the prompting motive, or for lack of a design upon the trestle-board of creation lie inert for an eternity past. We can form a correct estimate of the character of the Creator, only by investing attributes with like qualities as himself.

Take the known as the basis by which to form an estimate of the unknown. Man in his perfect individualized being is composed of mental, moral and sensuous qualities. These all combine to make up his selfhood. All the elements of his nature must perform their part in order that he may fully realize his being. While he breathes the air, and the blood circulates in his arteries, the mental process also is performed. He thinks and reasons, and proves himself an intellectual being, and by an appeal to his consciousness knows himself a moral being. These, all harmoniously united, constitute the perfect man. And by the healthful performance of their functions, he maintains not only his selfhood, but also his equilibrium. Deprive him of either his mental, moral or physical faculties, and he is no longer perfect man. Furthermore, his consciousness, intuition and reason all unite to assure him that he *is*, and is invested with his own individuality. His consciousness and reason assure him that without any volition of his own he possesses every element necessary to his individualized being, and the performance of all the functions of his nature. He knows he thinks, and if he observe the action of the mind, he will discover that the thinking process is involuntarily performed. But *how* he thinks, and by *what* wonderful magic he reasons, he cannot tell. He but knows that he did not originate himself, or organize his moral or reasoning powers. He knows, moreover, that while he thinks and reasons, his moral consciousness pervades his being, and accompanies him in every portion of his varied journey. Yea, while he thinks, reasons, and maintains his consciousness, he is also cognizant of the fact that in behalf of his physical parts, he breathes the vital air; the blood con-

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tinues its flow; his digestive powers perform their functions; he sees, hears and feels. Precisely how all these things are accomplished, he knows not. He knows, only, that the faculties involved all act conjointly in the individualized, living, conscious man.

We have now but to apply this illustration to the various elements inherent in the composition of the Eternal, and so make obvious the fact that all must coöperatively unite in maintaining the eternity and equilibrium of the Creator, endowing him with the capacity to perform every function of his nature. Being eternally perfect, all the elements of his being must be, like himself, eternally perfect. No incipient stages corresponding to childhood and youth mark any of his attributes. Thus, no opportunity offers for the possible conjecture that there ever was a point in the Infinite cycle when any of the elements of his nature *began* to exert their power and perform their work. They all eternally acted in conjoint and efficient harmony. Indeed, we might as consistently write of man as knowing himself while destitute of the consciousness of his being, as to philosophize upon the Infinite wisdom, goodness and power, while for an eternity past they confessedly lay inert, and for all practical purposes, dead. In such condition God could not have consciousness of himself, nor realize the capacities of his nature.

But while the eternity of duration is always conceded, and also the associate idea of limitless space, the additional and necessary thought of the infinitude of number does not seem to have occurred as a subject of philosophic consideration. All the deductions of science in this direction seem to extend no farther than the supposition that once, in the far-distant Past, nought else existed but God enshrouded in his own dreamy, motionless eternity. And after an inconceivable lapse of time his spirit awoke from its long slumber; and, at his omnific word, out of the darkness streamed the light; out of chaos, form; and out of confusion, order. In a word, a marvellously grand and glorious system of mind and matter, at one simultaneous bound, sprang into being; and then the

exact skill which designed and fashioned it, and the mighty force which heaved it from blank chaos, having, thus, once acted, the creative mind again retired within itself, to be forever only the silent witness of the continuous play of nature's harmonious laws.

Such would seem to be the status of the universe as understood from the current views of astronomy; but it does not fully answer the demands of a far-seeing inquiry, and cannot be harmonized with the conceptions of the "Eternal Godhead and Power" evolving eternally all life, matter and intelligence.

Here the thought occurs — If space be illimitable and number infinite, would not this suggest the existence of two infinitudes; and also the seeming contradiction that one infinitude contains another? or must not limitless space be greater than the number contained?

However, there is really no more difficulty in the thought of the infinitude of worlds than in the illimitability of space. The one thought, indeed, is necessitated by the other. The space does not contain the number, save in the sense in which the number involves the space; but each exists by its own necessary law in perfect analogy with the other, each being also analogous with the eternity inherent in God.

Therefore, as space is boundless and admits not of measurement, the fulness of its capacity can never be approximated. Eternally filling, yet never full, the infinitude of number remains ever the same.

We now propose to show that the foregoing reasoning is not idle speculation; for the conclusion which is here reached conducts to the marked discrimination between intellect and consciousness, and will materially aid us in our effort at reconciling the seeming conflict between consciousness and philosophy, between the Divine sovereignty and human responsibility.

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hostile attitudes. Science and our own consciousness approve and confirm the proposition that if a part be taken from a given quantity, it will be diminished to the extent of the sum subtracted; and that when added to, it is increased to the value of the addition. But philosophically considered, an infinitude — such as eternity, space or number — may have constant additions, and yet the sum be not increased, or be eternally reduced, and yet not diminished. This statement is scientifically absurd, and our consciousness so decides it; but philosophy and the verdict of the intellect declare that, by a law of necessity, much as our consciousness may disapprove, the statement must be correct. Thus, that which consciousness says must be false, intellect says must be true, and when the verdict of consciousness ends, the intellect resumes the problem, and carries it beyond the sphere of consciousness. The intellect can apprehend the verdict of consciousness, and more. It can recognize that a given quantity by addition may be increased, or by reduction diminished; and it can also sanction the deduction of the inherent philosophy of the intellect, that an eternal addition does not increase, nor an eternal subtraction reduce an absolute infinitude. Thus, that which in the realm of consciousness is discord, in the realm of philosophy is harmony.

We wish now to pass on, and try the reconciling power of this philosophy in the domain of morals. Let us test it by reference to the moral government of God as approved by the verdict of consciousness. Man is not only an intelligent, he is a moral, being. By the law of the moral faculty within him, he has an apprehension of moral qualities; one class of feelings, thoughts and deeds of which the moral sense takes cognizance, by its verdict stand approved, another class by the same law is condemned. The one class excites pleasurable emotions in his moral nature, the other is a source of infelicity and pain.

Thus, the intuitions of the moral sense attest that man is morally responsible. He is responsible to his own consciousness of right and wrong, to himself, to his kind, and to his

God. And by its verdict he stands approved or condemned according as his thoughts, words and deeds are virtuous or vicious. This moral consciousness inquires not whether a vicious intention may not result in good, and thus seek a justification of the deed; for no palliation of its guilt can absolve from sin, or remove the censure of its own verdict, so long as it feels that an evil intention dictates the deed.

At this point, however, the intellect interposes its verdict, and reasons thus: God is the author of all things. He is is infinitely good, wise and just. His will, wisdom and power are absolute; and he is the primary source of all "things and events." His knowledge is absolute, comprehending and declaring the end from the beginning, and nothing can transpire without his knowledge and permission. He cannot see or know any thing or event in the Future as contingent, or as involving, simply, an hypothesis; for this would suppose the knowledge of that which would never happen. Therefore, with God nothing can rest on contingency — no hypothesis with him; all is absolute knowledge. Now, as God has constituted man, and conferred upon him faculties capable of both good and evil, and as he most certainly knew before creating him what would be his tendency to evil; wherefore impart a consciousness of moral qualities, which could not by its verdict of condemnation prevent the sinful deeds, which the infinite mind infallibly knew would be the result?

Hence originates what seems the irreconcilable conflict between the verdicts of reason and conscience. Conscience regards not the plea of reason, which would shift the responsibility of the sinful action, or palliate the guilt. Hence, we repeat, the conflict — reason excuses; moral consciousness condemns.

Take another view — Moral consciousness allows and acts upon its own responsibility; while the intellect refers the responsibility to God, affirming that even its own volitions are moulded and controlled by the Omnipotent will and law.

The reason of this conflict is found in the incapacity of

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whose only claim to credibility was severe penance, a squalid aspect, and a professed intimate converse with Deity!

I. It was in such circumstances, and under such influences, that a great and marvellous power swept, with appalling swiftness, over vast portions of the Eastern Continent. The kingdom of Yemen, embracing, perhaps, the undefined limits of Arabia Felix, claims the honor of having produced the wonderful Prophet, whose name and religion have exerted a tremendous influence over the human mind. On the northern borders of that kingdom, not far from the Red Sea, stood the city of Mecca, venerable for its antiquity, and still more for its massy temple, the CAABA, devoted to idolatrous worship, dating far back into the unknown Past, and distinguished as the resort of pious pilgrims from all parts of the wild and romantic tract of the Arabian peninsula. Here Mahomet was born. A short time before that event, the Abyssinian Christians, who had long held dominion in Yemen, advanced with an army and a train of elephants from Africa, invested the city, and threatened its overthrow. But, for some unaccountable reason, the force was withdrawn, and the auspicious moment for converting the venerable CAABA, a temple of idols, into a church of Christ, slipped forever from Christian hands. Orphaned in his infancy, Mahomet was left to the control of chance, and the uncertain care of a distant relative. At the age of forty he commenced his wild career of religious innovation; friends, kindred, tribe and fellow-citizens opposed and forsook him, and all his efforts to proselyte them served only to increase their exasperation. Driven from his native city, a poor and friendless fanatic, he afterwards returned in triumph, subdued the place, and converted its ancient temple into the sacred fane of a new religion. To that fane the Moslem pilgrims are solemnly enjoined to direct their steps, or turn their eyes with the same earnest zeal as that displayed by their Sabæan ancestors. The conquest of Mecca opened the way for new achievements, and the wary prophet, by a series of rapid and skillful movements, improved the chances to extend his religion and establish his name forever.

It is not an easy task to develop the latent forces, and designate in full the various and efficient causes for the rapid and amazing successes of this new religion and new political power. The facts already passed in review may serve as a key to unlock the outer door, perhaps to enter the inner sanctum, and resolve the problem. The older nations had become effeminate — weakened by luxury, distracted by factions, wasted by domestic troubles and civil war, exhausted by a superstition which drew thousands from the productive classes into profitless seclusion, and enervated by the painful lack of that inner life which alone gives moral strength, and makes the martyr. The rising dynasty gathered to its standard a race inured to hardship, frugal in modes of life, bold, daring, independent, and disposed to fanaticism. They were probably descendants of the original inhabitants of Arabia — *autochthones* — Ishmaelites, perhaps, mingled with Scythian hordes, Sabæan exiles, and other aliens, whom chance, or oppression, or persecution, had driven from their native land to seek an asylum and liberty in the inaccessible fastnesses of Arabia. The new religion, a strange mixture of Monotheism, Fatalism, austere maxims, and the promise of a sensual paradise to the faithful, addressed itself, with keen directness, to the common heart, and was well adapted to the genius of a rude and barbarous people, governed more by passion and impulse than by reason and understanding. The deep religious feeling which prevailed throughout that wild and sterile land, as shown by the annual pilgrimages to the shrine of *Caaba*, was easily wrought into a stern and ruthless fanaticism, which might urge to any violence, and even dare the kiss of martyrdom. Nor is it to be presumed that such a people, imbued with such a spirit, could look with favor, or even allowance, on the errors and corruptions that entered deeply into the Christian faith — its polytheistic assumption of God in three persons, its dualistic nature of the second Deity, its worship of invisible beings under the form of images, its real presence of the holy body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the Eucharist — all demanding implicit faith without reason, and even

in violation of the plainest dictates of that fundamental faculty of the human mind. Beneath this weight of festering corruption, it is not difficult to perceive a concealed force working irresistibly against Christ, and pressing acceptance of the more intelligible, if not more rational and truthful, theory of Mahomet. The charge of idolatry was dexterously laid at the foot of the Christian altar, and successfully urged by the devotees of this new religion. Who could perceive a real distinction between a trinity of persons and a trinity of Gods, even though evolved and explained with all the sharpness of metaphysical subtleties? And who could see a difference, whether the protecting power and the object of reverence were a silver Jesus or a waxen Jupiter, an ivory Mary or an ebon Minerva, tutelary genii or tutelary saints? It was the same Pagan theory of "Gods many"—the same heathen practice, the same guardian Penates, addressed to the senses, which occupied the secret *penetralia* in the household, whether in the form of pictures and images of canonized saint and the holy Anointed, or in the older form of consecrated idols, whatever their character, which represented heathen gods and deified men. It is not wonderful that a rude and untutored people, if they rejected heathenism at all, should more readily adopt the plain and intelligible theory of one God, unencumbered with the mysteries of a triune personality, than a system which confounded reason in a distaff of inextricable metaphysics, and imposed on its votaries a blind and implicit faith in unrelieved absurdities. Nor was this all. The new theory seemed wisely adapted to the Christian mind, since it threw aside the errors and corruptions that burdened the system, and recognized not only God and Mahomet, but Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets, and the general revelation embraced in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.

Another consideration, not to be overlooked, entered, without question, deeply into the combinations which worked out the rapid and sweeping changes in the career of Mahomet. The whole Christian world was in a state of harassing turmoil and agitation, foaming and fermenting at every point.

of the manner in which these treaties engage the Chinese Government to protect Christians and their religion, we take the following, which is Article XIII of the French treaty. And it will be observed that it is not for the benefit of Catholics only, but of "all Christian bodies":

"The Christian religion, having for its essential object to lead men to virtue, the members of all Christian bodies (communions,) shall enjoy full security for their persons, their property, and the free exercise of their religious worship; and entire protection shall be given to missionaries who peacefully enter the country furnished with passports such as are described in Article VIII. No obstacles shall be interposed by the Chinese authorities to the recognized right of any person in China to embrace Christianity, if he pleases, and to obey its requirements, without being subject on that account to any penalty. Whatever has been heretofore written, proclaimed, or published in China, by order of government, against the Christian faith, is wholly abrogated and nullified in all the provinces of the empire."

— Of the three millions and more of people inhabiting the four provinces making the New Dominion of Canada, only 15 per cent. belong to the Church of England! Of the rest, 44 per cent. are Catholics, 15 per cent. Presbyterians, and 14 per cent. Methodists. The remainder is composed of Baptists, Lutherans, Congregationalists, &c. A census of the entire British Empire, including all its dependencies, would give the following results: The greatest number of British subjects are Pagans, the next most numerous class is composed of Mohammedans, next are the Roman Catholics, the Protestants being the fourth and least numerous class; and if these are divided, the Church of England will be still in the minority, showing the remarkable fact of the smallest religious division governing all the rest.

— The Church of England is a curious medley of men and opinions, as will be seen by the following amusing statement from the English "Independent": "In the *Record* advertisements appear for assistant clergyman of 'Evangelical views,' in the *Guardian* of 'moderate views,' and in the *Church Times* of 'Catholic views.' The ecclesiastical gamut is now divided into the most delicate chromatics. In a single page of one of these journals now before us we find among the 'Wanteds' 'A priest of sound Church views,' 'A curate of sound moderate views,' 'A clergyman of no extreme views,' 'A curate of Catholic views,' of 'Liberal High-Church,' 'Moderate High-Church,' and 'High-Church, but not extreme views;' 'Sound

in violation of the plainest dictates of that fundamental faculty of the human mind. Beneath this weight of festering corruption, it is not difficult to perceive a concealed force working irresistibly against Christ, and pressing acceptance of the more intelligible, if not more rational and truthful, theory of Mahomet. The charge of idolatry was dexterously laid at the foot of the Christian altar, and successfully urged by the devotees of this new religion. Who could perceive a real distinction between a trinity of persons and a trinity of Gods, even though evolved and explained with all the sharpness of metaphysical subtleties? And who could see a difference, whether the protecting power and the object of reverence were a silver Jesus or a waxen Jupiter, an ivory Mary or an ebon Minerva, tutelary genii or tutelary saints? It was the same Pagan theory of "Gods many"—the same heathen practice, the same guardian Penates, addressed to the senses, which occupied the secret *penetralia* in the household, whether in the form of pictures and images of canonized saint and the holy Anointed, or in the older form of consecrated idols, whatever their character, which represented heathen gods and deified men. It is not wonderful that a rude and untutored people, if they rejected heathenism at all, should more readily adopt the plain and intelligible theory of one God, unencumbered with the mysteries of a triune personality, than a system which confounded reason in a distaff of inextricable metaphysics, and imposed on its votaries a blind and implicit faith in unrelieved absurdities. Nor was this all. The new theory seemed wisely adapted to the Christian mind, since it threw aside the errors and corruptions that burdened the system, and recognized not only God and Mahomet, but Moses, and Jesus, and the prophets, and the general revelation embraced in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures.

Another consideration, not to be overlooked, entered, without question, deeply into the combinations which worked out the rapid and sweeping changes in the career of Mahomet. The whole Christian world was in a state of harassing turmoil and agitation, foaming and fermenting at every point.

Though the outlines of a common faith were sharply marked and rigidly enforced, there still remained a perpetual and irrepressible tendency to break the lines and introduce innovations. Philosophers thought, and reasoned, and speculated, and issued their speculations, only to be attacked and condemned by cotemporaneous philosophers. Distinguished prelates of equal sagacity and equal orthodoxy entertained different opinions, and propounded theological questions which could be determined only by the sharpest finesse, and the decision of synods and councils. Even councils themselves sometimes changed their decisions at the instance of shrewd debaters and artful intriguers. The contest between the Eastern and Western churches extended only to minor points — chiefly for ecclesiastical supremacy, while all else was bound in the iron bands of a sanctioned creed. Mind, however, could not be chained; new opinions were advanced, and new sects sprang into active being. The older sects, condemned as heretics, still retained their vital force, and gathering greater strength and fiercer hate, became at length an element of weakness, as well to the state, as to the great frowning hierarchy which controlled it. The Nestorians of Persia, and the Monophysites of Egypt and Abyssinia, had never submitted to Rome or Constantinople. The heresy of the Arians and Donatists in northern Africa, though crushed and silenced, still slumbered in apparent repose, or burned with smothered fires, which sometimes burst into a full and lurid flame. Every effort was made, by king and council, imperial edicts and ecclesiastical anathemas, to suppress and obliterate all dissenting sects. The fires of persecution, lighted, and nursed, and fanned in other days, now burned with intenser and more appalling fierceness. Hundreds and thousands of the Copts or Jacobites of Egypt and Nubia, the Nestorians, Donatists, Arians and other minor sects suffered, with intrepid resolution, the terrible pangs, without securing the merited honors, of martyrdom. It was not unnatural for even conscientious Christians, so fiercely persecuted, to greet an invading force as a divine agent sent for their deliverance. What-

ever differences of opinion might exist between themselves and the invader, they trusted chance, or honor, or clemency, to make a treaty for the peaceful enjoyment of their religion. The Copts of Egypt, on the arrival of Amrou, did, in fact, render assistance, and secured a treaty to that effect. Though that treaty was encumbered with a heavy capitation on all their kindred, yet the very burden of tribute, whatever its weight, was deemed a mere trifle in comparison with the weightier issue — the freedom of conscience which they were permitted to enjoy.

With such surroundings, and a band of followers imbued with the doctrine of inexorable fate, controlled by a wild and reckless fanaticism, and encouraged by the hope of a sensual paradise, glittering with beautiful Houris, for the faithful and the brave, the great Fanatic commenced his conquests, and pushed his successes in every direction. The wandering tribes of the Arabian Desert who gathered to his standard, had, for reasons not well understood, received the name of *Saracens* — a name of obscure origin, which afterwards became a terror and an abhorrence to every Christian believer. In a few years he had overthrown and destroyed the idols of Arabia, and subdued or converted its idolatrous people. The Jews who, driven from their native and cherished Judea by the persecutions of Christian bigots, had found a safe retreat in the wilds of Arabia, unhappily incurred the displeasure of the prophet, and suffered the common fate of all who opposed him. His years of triumph and of conquest, however, were few, and rapidly borne to a close. He died at the age of sixty-three; but that event became at once the rallying-point and stimulus to braver deeds and greater achievements. With the seal of death upon his brow, he still lived in the hearts, in the temper, in the spirit, and in the terrible fanaticism of those who followed him. In the fatal draught which they had imbibed, he had managed to transfuse himself through all his hosts, enforce his religion, and perpetuate his name forever. Abubeker, one of his first converts, succeeded him, under the title of *Caliph*, or Vicar of the prophet, and

commander of the faithful. But his term of authority was very brief; he was soon called by the angel of death to join the departed prophet, and Omar, a severe and energetic leader, was named to fill his place.

II. It was under this caliph that Amrou, a shrewd and active leader, was sent for the conquest of Egypt. He took the great highway of invading armies, through Pelusium, captured that city, and appeared with a small army before Memphis. The city soon submitted, and, by the aid of the Coptic or Monophysite Christians, the Saracen army, now greatly reinforced, was shortly after conducted to Alexandria. After a long siege and obstinate resistance, that city, also, yielded to the invincible valor of the Moslem forces, and the famous Alexandrian Library, which Amrou would have spared, was completely destroyed by order of the ignorant and bigoted Omar. The fall of Alexandria overthrew the Roman power in Egypt, and diverted the immense riches of that fertile land from Constantinople into the barren wilds of Arabia. But the clamors of the people, deprived of their support and their luxuries from the granaries of Egypt, soon compelled the Byzantine court to attempt the reconquest of that country. Though the Roman armies again occupied the harbor and the fortifications of Alexandria, the invincible Amron drove them out, and established, for a long period, the Moslem power over the classic waters of the Nile. Equally a statesman and a warrior, he now directed his attention to the administration of public affairs, established a harmonious relation between the native races and his own people, equalized the burdens of revenue, and appropriated a considerable part in making improvements for the benefit of the people and his own glory. He founded a city, called *Fostat*, on the grounds now occupied by the ruins of old Cairo; he built and beautified a palace for his own residence, and opened a canal to unite the waters of the Nile with those of the Red Sea — a work which had before been attempted or completed under the Ptolemian dynasty, or perhaps at an earlier period, under the dynasty of the Pharaohs. But envy and jealousy, so common in the world, which

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even enlightened Christianity does not overcome, at length reached the sagacious, comprehensive and indefatigable Amrou. He was recalled from his post, and another leader appointed to fill his place. His retirement, however, was of short duration. Renewed troubles required the skill, the tact, and personal influence of the late commander, and he was accordingly restored to his old position. On the death of Omar, he was again superseded, and the command of Egypt assigned to Abdallah, a particular friend and favorite of the new caliph. This prince was a soldier of some repute, and, ambitious to distinguish himself, he formed the plan of extending the Saracen conquests into the unknown regions of the West. With an army of forty thousand Arabs, he pushed, unterrified, into the Libyan Desert, crossed, by the aid of his faithful camels, the sands of Barca, and pitched his tents before the walls of Tripoli — a city and country which, since the conquest of Africa, and the expulsion of the Vandals by Belisarius, had been held as a province of the Byzantine empire. The town was strongly fortified and defended by an army of Greeks and Africans under the command of the prefect Gregory, — who had offered a large reward, and the hand of his beautiful and accomplished daughter, to any youth who should secure the head of the Moslem chief. The rumor of this proposal ran rapidly through the camp of the faithful, and its startling and depressing effects induced the withdrawal of Abdallah, by advice of his friends, to a place of safety. A brave and adventurous youth in the Moslem camp, flushed with shame at the apparent cowardice, hastened to the tent of his chief, and, with words of reproach, obtained a promise similar to that of the Grecian commander. Charged with the execution of a strategy himself had planned, Zobeir, by a sudden and unexpected assault, routed the Grecian army, rushed hastily into their camp, slew the father, and captured and carried away the daughter. The Greeks were defeated, the city taken, the whole country reduced, a heavy tribute was imposed upon the vanquished, and then the Moslem forces returned to Egypt.

Ambition, envy and jealousy are too apt to enter into the councils, and control the conduct of men, — especially those of small capacity and narrow views, whom chance or fortune may have thrown into a position to assume the management of great public affairs. Inseparable companions of ignorance and bigotry, they too often join hands in the production of strife and discord. The Moslem affairs had reached a point at which these passions, even among the devout and faithful, began to struggle for the mastery. Mahomet was gone, Omar was gone, and the leading companions of the prophet had passed to their rest. The different tribes of the Arabian Desert, now thoroughly imbued with the faith and religion of Mahomet, began to show signs of former jealousy and desire to rule. Contentions ensued — disputes and bickerings, attacks and reprisals, insurrections and assassinations, which arrested for many years the further conquest of Africa. The disputes, however, were at length so far adjusted as to allow renewed scope for the irrepressible desire of conquest. After the withdrawal of the Saracen force, the people of Africa were treated with terrible severity by the agents of the Byzantine court. Notwithstanding their losses, their sufferings, and their cries of poverty, they were compelled, with pitiless rigor, to pay a tribute equal to that exacted by their Moslem conquerors. The very power which should have been their protector, laid upon them the weightiest hand of oppression. Drawn between the upper and the nether millstone, they had no alternative but to make a choice between the greater and the lesser evil. With singular unanimity the step was taken. All classes, Moslem and Christian, orthodox and heretic, saint and sinner, united in calling upon the Arab caliph for protection against the relentless despotism of the Byzantine emperor. Their cries reached at length the ears of the caliph, and a force was sent for their relief; but as soon as it was withdrawn, the same severities against the unhappy Africans were again enforced by the tyrants of Constantinople. They were even increased and intensified by the orthodox patriarch of Carthage, whose monstrous extortions on all classes, were

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A third attempt to conquer the western tribes was made by Akbar, who conducted a large army from Damascus, and, passing through Egypt, Libya, the Tripolitan territory, and Numidia, pushed his conquests to the Atlantic shore, and even rode into the sea, regretting that, by such an insurmountable barrier, his resistless course was obstructed. His conquests, however, were as brief as they were brilliant. The fickle tribes, who followed his standard in the glow of victory, proved a treacherous aid. The Grecian armies followed close upon his track, and on their first appearance his new allies changed their allegiance with as little compunction as they would cast off an old garment. By their aid his hopes and his power were soon destroyed. But, with a sagacity not uncommon in the Moslem leaders, as a means of defence against the treacherous natives and the Grecian armies, he had founded a city, named *Cairoan*, down towards the desert, about fifty miles from the coast, and within the present kingdom of Tunis. This city, strengthened with granite from the Atlas range, and adorned with the marble of Numidia, long afterwards became the seat of learning, taste and empire. But no arts of fortification or embellishment could furnish absolute security against the ruthless demands and skillful appliances of war. The state of public affairs along the coast was constantly changing. Successes and reverses followed each other in rapid succession — sometimes the Moslem force prevailed, and sometimes the Greek and barbarian. The Berbers, or Moors, or whatever name they might receive, became a most important, and yet uncertain, element in all the affairs of this and succeeding ages. The turbulence and civil discords of the Saracen empire, whose royal seat had been removed from Medina to Damascus, added greatly to the vicissitudes and uncertainties of the African conquests.

Under the caliph Abdalmalek, Hassan, the bold and adventurous governor of Egypt, was sent with a powerful army into the western provinces. The Greeks, now in alliance with the Goths of Italy, had assembled a large army near Utica; a battle ensued, Hassan was victorious, the routed Greeks were driven to the coast, a timely embarkation saved them from utter extirpation, but all that remained of ancient Carthage was again committed to the flames. Unsupported at home, and unable to retain his conquests, the daring Hassan returned to Egypt, and left the conquered provinces to the mercy of his enemies. And that mercy! Through its terrible influence, the splendid Christian establishments which once lifted up their heads, so beautiful and so grand, were fast fading away. "God and Mahomet" was deemed a lesser evil than the corrupt, and sordid, and bigoted, and vindictive body clothed in gorgeous robes in the name of Jesus. Changes again ensued. Another Moslem army was sent to the theatre of strife, and indented its fearful footprints on that ill-fated soil; the Grecian power was again overthrown, and the Moorish tribes compelled to submit to the religion as well as the power of the victorious Arab. Thenceforth the African provinces were irrevocably severed from the Byzantine empire.

But the Moslem chiefs, successful on the coast of the Mediterranean and in the interior towards the Great Desert, down perhaps to the rich oasis of Fezzan, were not disposed to remain inactive. They advanced to the west, over the grounds so recently trodden by the valorous Akbar, and, a few years later, erected the standard of the crescent on all the lands, even to the mighty waters which receive to their placid bosom the setting sun. Back from the Atlantic coast, at the southwest of Gibraltar, is a spur of the Atlas Mountains, which stretches from the borders of the desert northerly to about the thirty-third degree of latitude, and then makes a bend, like a huge serpent, towards the east. On the western periphery of this bend, embosomed in a picturesque valley, surrounded on nearly all sides by broken lands, slopes and ridges, lies the quiet and romantic city of Fez. It was the

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capital of a small kingdom bearing the same name, and was founded in the year 793, by Sidi Edris, a descendant of the prophet himself by Ali and Fatima. Here, by the aid of Arabs from Cairoan, he erected a splendid mosque, in which he was afterwards buried; and thenceforward the city and the mosque became a sacred shrine, devoted to the Koran and its maxims, to which the faithful Mahometans from every part of northern Africa were accustomed to pay their devotions in annual pilgrimages. It became, in later years, a distinguished seat of science and philosophy, religion, literature, and medicine, and doubtless exerted a powerful influence in the extensive diffusion of that marvellous religion, which so deeply pervades the Arab mind in all the vast tract of northern Africa — in all the dreary sand-fields of the great desert, and down into the more fruitful regions below. Changes, wars and civil distractions caused, at length, the building of Morocco, farther south on the western slope of the Atlas; and changes, wars and revolutions united the two cities under one government, and, from the long and bloody struggles, bore out the present kingdom of Morocco. Even the devout and pious, whether Christian, Moslem or Pagan, are seldom free from the infirmities of human nature — too often engage in civil commotions, and cover the darkest deeds and blackest character under the broad mantle of *God, Religion, and the Right.*

III. The fearful conflict between the Cross and the Crescent, the Mahometan and Christian, the East and the West, had reached a point which menaced the civil and religious interests of the whole world. Constantinople withstood the shock; but the great empires of Asia, the sands, and rocks, and riches of Arabia, the green and fertile fields of Egypt, the Holy City and Holy Land, had sunk beneath the Moslem wave. The restless ambition of the Arab leaders in northern Africa disdained all restraints, and panted for new and greater achievements. From the ancient Tingis, now Tangier, they cast a wistful, covetous eye across the straits, and by the treachery of Count Julian, a Christian noble, gained admis-

sion into the Spanish peninsula; and thus, for the first time, they set their hostile feet on European soil. Tarik, a bold and skillful soldier, crossed the straits at the head of five thousand dauntless Arabs, and gave the name Gibraltar,— *Gebel al Tarik*, or mountain of Tarik,— to the promontories which had so long been known as the *Pillars of Hercules*. After a terrible conflict, the victory was decided in favor of the invaders, and from a Christian empire the Spanish domain was changed to a Moslem province. Not content with the possession of this beautiful land, under Abderame, the Saracen governor, they pushed their way, with a large army, across the Pyrenees, and commenced an indiscriminate ravage of ancient Gaul, the present French dominions. They had reached the Loire, and spread their conquests over one-half of the territory of France. On the wise counsels and dauntless valor of Charles Martel, and his fearless soldiers, hung for a time the momentous question whether Europe, as well as Asia and Africa, should acknowledge Mahomet as a prophet, and submit to the revelations of the Koran. But the prize, so nearly won, was torn forever from Moslem hands; yet in Africa, as well as the East, the memory of this defeat served only to inspire intenser hatred and vengeance, and renewed efforts to gain the crown. The Moorish tribes and African Arabs, all along the Mediterranean coast, looked with profound jealousy and burning covetousness on the rich and fertile fields across the sea. Their corsairs at length obtained control of the Mediterranean, and successively attacked, conquered, colonized, and held for a considerable time, the islands of Corsica, Sicily and Sardinia, and even the southern portions of the Italian peninsula. They were finally expelled by the Norman princes, the Gothic conquerors, and other invaders of beautiful Italy. It was not until near the close of the fifteenth century, that, by the military prowess, perhaps the religious bigotry, of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moslem authority was completely overthrown in Spain, and the Moors expelled from that country.

But during the long period of their dominion, it must be

capital of a small kingdom bearing the same name, and was founded in the year 793, by Sidi Edris, a descendant of the prophet himself by Ali and Fatima. Here, by the aid of Arabs from Cairoan, he erected a splendid mosque, in which he was afterwards buried; and thenceforward the city and the mosque became a sacred shrine, devoted to the Koran and its maxims, to which the faithful Mahometans from every part of northern Africa were accustomed to pay their devotions in annual pilgrimages. It became, in later years, a distinguished seat of science and philosophy, religion, literature, and medicine, and doubtless exerted a powerful influence in the extensive diffusion of that marvellous religion, which so deeply pervades the Arab mind in all the vast tract of northern Africa — in all the dreary sand-fields of the great desert, and down into the more fruitful regions below. Changes, wars and civil distractions caused, at length, the building of Morocco, farther south on the western slope of the Atlas; and changes, wars and revolutions united the two cities under one government, and, from the long and bloody struggles, bore out the present kingdom of Morocco. Even the devout and pious, whether Christian, Moslem or Pagan, are seldom free from the infirmities of human nature — too often engage in civil commotions, and cover the darkest deeds and blackest character under the broad mantle of *God, Religion, and the Right.*

III. The fearful conflict between the Cross and the Crescent, the Mahometan and Christian, the East and the West, had reached a point which menaced the civil and religious interests of the whole world. Constantinople withstood the shock; but the great empires of Asia, the sands, and rocks, and riches of Arabia, the green and fertile fields of Egypt, the Holy City and Holy Land, had sunk beneath the Moslem wave. The restless ambition of the Arab leaders in northern Africa disdained all restraints, and panted for new and greater achievements. From the ancient Tingis, now Tangier, they cast a wistful, covetous eye across the straits, and by the treachery of Count Julian, a Christian noble, gained admis-

sion into the Spanish peninsula; and thus, for the first time, they set their hostile feet on European soil. Tarik, a bold and skillful soldier, crossed the straits at the head of five thousand dauntless Arabs, and gave the name Gibraltar,—*Gebel al Tarik*, or mountain of Tarik,—to the promontories which had so long been known as the *Pillars of Hercules*. After a terrible conflict, the victory was decided in favor of the invaders, and from a Christian empire the Spanish domain was changed to a Moslem province. Not content with the possession of this beautiful land, under Abderame, the Saracen governor, they pushed their way, with a large army, across the Pyrenees, and commenced an indiscriminate ravage of ancient Gaul, the present French dominions. They had reached the Loire, and spread their conquests over one-half of the territory of France. On the wise counsels and dauntless valor of Charles Martel, and his fearless soldiers, hung for a time the momentous question whether Europe, as well as Asia and Africa, should acknowledge Mahomet as a prophet, and submit to the revelations of the Koran. But the prize, so nearly won, was torn forever from Moslem hands; yet in Africa, as well as the East, the memory of this defeat served only to inspire intenser hatred and vengeance, and renewed efforts to gain the crown. The Moorish tribes and African Arabs, all along the Mediterranean coast, looked with profound jealousy and burning covetousness on the rich and fertile fields across the sea. Their corsairs at length obtained control of the Mediterranean, and successively attacked, conquered, colonized, and held for a considerable time, the islands of Corsica, Sicily and Sardinia, and even the southern portions of the Italian peninsula. They were finally expelled by the Norman princes, the Gothic conquerors, and other invaders of beautiful Italy. It was not until near the close of the fifteenth century, that, by the military prowess, perhaps the religious bigotry, of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moslem authority was completely overthrown in Spain, and the Moors expelled from that country.

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conceded to their credit, that the administration of public affairs was generally mild, humane, and wise, as the times would allow. They had thrown off allegiance to the eastern caliphs, and established an independent government, forming alliances even with Christian princes. The Christians were tolerated, the arts, sciences and literature were extensively patronized and zealously cultivated, and the prosperity and happiness of the people promoted. Wealth and luxury entered profusely into the courts of the caliphs, and their immense revenues were often lavished in the improvement of cities and palaces, in the creation of splendid structures, beautiful gardens, sumptuous baths, and extensive aqueducts, bearing their unseen waters beneath the streets, and throwing out jets at intervals, from golden pipes, into cisterns of alabaster. But after the expulsion of the Moors, all this glory was changed, and that grand domain, so rich in art and industry, has sunk by slow degrees to its present ignoble condition. The merciless bigotry of the Christian victors, and the barbarous treatment of the conquered race, furnish probably the chief cause of this decline.[1] On this point the Mahometan practice stands in singular and favorable contrast with the cruel scenes enacted in the name of Christ.

The affairs of Africa, in the meantime, were moving slowly downward in their painful course of unrelieved deterioration. The Cross of Christ and its saving power were gradually fading from the public mind. Africa, which could once boast of its Cyprian, Augustine, and other eminent prelates, and which, by its numerous bishops, exercised a controlling influence on all the affairs of the Church in Europe and Asia, sunk at length too low for Christian recognition, and all its old feuds, once bursting and flaming in vigorous activity, were now buried forever in the universal acknowledgement and veneration of the inevitable duad — *God and Mahomet!* In later times, the government itself along the coast was dis-

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solved into a mere shadow, changing continually with the petty revolutions that rapidly followed each other like the changing hues of the chamelion.

IV. Down from the immense tracts of mountain and morass in northern and central Asia, the great prolific source of conquering hordes in former years, came the dauntless Turks, who overthrew the Saracen empire, bore into the scope of living history another race — the Ottoman dynasty — and carried their conquests into Egypt, and even far along the northern borders of Africa. The sea soon became infested, more than ever, with marauding bands of pirates and corsairs, who committed their depredations without remorse and without restraint, seized and enslaved whatever Christians came unfortunately within their reach. The mild appellative of *Christian dog*, which originated during the crusades, became afterwards both the signal and the justification of the darkest deeds and severest cruelties. The descendants of the Spanish Moors, expelled from their ancient home by Christian bigotry, found, in aid of these freebooters, a full gratification of their avarice and revenge. The small kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers and others had passed their embryonic state, and now commenced a restless puling for national recognition. They have received the emphatic cognomen of *Barbary States*, either from the word *Barbarus*, applied by the Romans to all foreign nations, or from a word more deeply significant of their own deep depravity. Three brothers named Barbarossa, sailing under Turkish colors, achieved for a time the leadership of all the pirates infesting the Mediterranean. So insolent and audacious had they become, as to attract the attention of European nations, and Charles V. fitted out an immense armament for their destruction. Sailing at an unfavorable season of the year, his fleet and his army met with a fatal disaster from the violence of a terrible storm, such as had never been known on the African coast. By the failure of this expedition, the Barbary freebooters were emboldened to pursue their infamous and profitable piracies; but they afterwards suffered severely, as well from the perpetual con-

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flicts and revolutionary movements among themselves, as from the successive attacks, bombardments and reprisals of the Spanish, French and British fleets. Not, however, until within the present century, were they compelled to relinquish the seizure and sale of Christian slaves, and effectually taught to respect the civilized nations of the earth. The great Republic of the West is not the least among those Powers who have deemed it necessary to impress upon them lessons of instruction by the use of sulphur and lead. Protestant missionaries are now making some advancement in the Christian enlightenment of the people in those ill-famed Barbary States. But what a change from the Augustan age to the present time!

Back to the East, on the "swelling and sounding waters" of the Nile, where, "according to the vicissitudes of the seasons, the face of the country is adorned with the *silver* wave, the verdant *emerald*, or the sober yellow of the *golden* harvest," the same commotions and the same changes were perpetually following each other. After the conquest by Amrou, the Arab conquerors held possession of Egypt for several hundred years. But through the jealousy and the feuds of the Eastern caliphs, the improvements made by that prince were suffered to fall into decay. The civil contests between the different aspirants for the government of the Saracen empire, involved in the common danger, as well the Egyptian as the other African provinces. The flight, or banishment, of Edris during the acrimonious feuds between the *green*, *white* and *black* factions, was the means of introducing the Fatimite, or *green*, ascendancy into western and northern Africa. Having abjured allegiance to the caliphs of the East, and established an independent government at Fez, the successors of Edris gradually extended their dominions along the coast, and at length sent a military force into Egypt, took possession of the country, and laid the foundation of the present Cairo. This Fatimite dynasty was soon after transferred from the Barbary coast to Cairo, and that famous city, completed by the first caliph, was held as the capital of the empire, until subdued by an army of Franks in one of the crusades. The

victors, however, were permitted to hold their dominion but a short time. The great Saladin, descended from the hardy Kurds beyond the Tigris, whose name became so fearful and so famous in succeeding ages, successfully resisted the Franks, acquired the sovereignty of Egypt, and carried his conquests into the neighboring countries. He overthrew the kingdom of Jerusalem which had been established by the indifferent successes of the early crusaders. His army, collected in Egypt for that purpose, contained a corps of three thousand colored troops, who, zealous for the Moslem cause, are said to have behaved with signal intrepidity in the siege and capture of the Holy City. Saladin began his course in allegiance to the caliphs of Bagdad, but afterwards threw off the yoke, and established an independent government. His labors, however, proved to be barren of any lasting results; by the wing of the death-angel himself, his possessions and his power were swept away as fleetly as they had been gained. He made some improvements in the condition of the people of Egypt, but beyond a few smiles during his life, and a few honest tears shed at his death, all the good achieved was squandered and absorbed by the foolish tyranny and incapacity of his successors.

The Turks had already made their way through blood and carnage from the south, perhaps the north, of the great Altai range of mountains, and turned their brutal faces towards the milder clime of Persia. At every step it had been their custom to exterminate the races who had fallen before their vengeful arms. But, glutted with blood, and influenced, like all victorious barbarians, by the lust of gain, they spared the young and vigorous of their captives, and sold them into slavery. The successors of Saladin sent ambassadors to these brutal conquerors, and negotiated the purchase of slaves, or prisoners from the Circassian and Georgian hills, to be trained and employed as soldiers. In a few years, they had gathered an immense body who received the name of Mamalukes, and who, born of a hardy race, and educated in the Egyptian arts of war, knew no other pursuit, and became at length a for-

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midable power for the support of a tyrannical government. It was through their prowess that the fiery zeal of the crusaders was held in check, and for a long time vigorously resisted by the Sultans of Egypt; through their aid the immense army of Louis IX., of France, which, in the spirit of the crusades, had been transported to Egyptian soil, was utterly cut to pieces, and the king himself made prisoner of war. Regaining his liberty, the same unfortunate prince, inspired with fanatic zeal to conduct another crusade, lost his life and his army in a fruitless expedition before the walls of Carthage.

It has never been deemed a safe policy for any nation to trust too much to the zeal and honor of foreign mercenaries. The Sultans of Egypt, in a very short time, discovered to their cost the solemn truth of this accepted maxim. Scarcely fifty years had elapsed ere their power was overthrown, and the Mamalukes assumed control of the crumbling ruins and still more ruined people of classic Egypt. The death of Malek Salah brought his son to the royal seat, who, after a brilliant career of a few years, provoked the rage of the Mamalukes, was deposed and assassinated, his government was subverted, and a new dynasty erected on its ruins. The Mamalukes continued in power through a stormy period of above two hundred and sixty years, and through a series of about fifty sultans, involved perpetually in "wars, battles, injuries and rapine." The trembling fabric came to its end under Tumanbai, who, in 1517, was taken captive and hanged before the walls of Cairo, by Selim, the grand Sultan, or Sublime Porte, of the Turkish empire. The victor, whose royal seat was at Constantinople, established a mixed government in Egypt, embracing the Mamalukes on the one hand, and a line of Viceroys, called Pashas or Bashaws, who might serve as a mutual check upon each other. This form of government continued, with the usual turbulence, and with little variation, until the French invasion under Buonaparte, in 1798. The French, however, were soon expelled by the British cruisers, and their fleet destroyed in the port of Alexandria, by the great victory of Admiral Nelson.

V. The history of the Turks is little more than a melancholy chronicle of ignorance, bigotry, tyranny and blood. The Saracen caliphs, especially in the summit of their glory, were very zealous and devoted in the culture of the mind. In the darkness that whelmed mediæval Europe, they held the keys to the great treasury of science and literature. While the northern barbarians who had overrun Europe, were passing their transition state, offering a bounty to ignorance, and spurning knowledge, except such as related to martial affairs, learning and its long train of disciples found a safe retreat under the ægis of the Moslem power. Spain, Africa, Egypt, Arabia and Damascus became greatly distinguished for their culture of science and literature, and their perfection in many of those arts which render luxury agreeable and civilization glorious. The famous Damascus blades, the peculiar temper of which is now a lost art, have chronicled that city in the annals of eternal fame. To the Arabian philosophers the world is indebted for some of the most valuable discoveries and useful inventions developed in the long period of human progress. The old alchemy, born in Egypt, was reinvested in the Arabian laboratories, and became a starting-point of the more useful discoveries in modern chemistry. But it must be confessed that the most sordid motives — the insatiable thirst for gold, the *auri sacra fames*, the irrepressible desire for the transmutation of the baser metals into that shining dust — lay at the foundation, and formed the moving power of all their arduous efforts. But the Turk — the Turk is a barbarian still, with little, if any, hope of intellectual elevation; the Turk, especially in Egypt, has sunk even below that sordid level, and is sinking, sinking, sinking still!

The Christian sects! Through all that long and cloudy period, so rapidly passed in review, how fared the Christian sects along the current of the old historic Nile? The Coptic Christians, Monophysites, like the exiled Hebrews, have maintained their identity and distinctive character; and a squalid remnant, in defiance of the scorn, the curses and the persecutions of the ruling race, still remain, the mere shadows or

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manes of a Christian glory that once beamed in effulgence over all that hapless land. It may be that dissensions among themselves, inducing one faction or the other to court the favor of the ruling powers, has led to their preservation. They read the sacred Word, if read they can; at all events they have, in what was once their native tongue, a Version of the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures. The Coptic Version dates back indefinitely in the sombre Past — made, perhaps, in the second century, perhaps the third, or even later. Intimately connected with the Monophysites of Abyssinia, they have a Patriarch residing usually at Cairo, whose designated seat is Alexandria, and who exercises a general supervision over the churches, as well in Abyssinia as in Egypt. But the grand distinctive point of faith — the Trinitarian — which burst in Alexandria into active life, and so long held imperial sway both in Egypt and the world, is absorbed and nearly obliterated in the mouldy jargon of the Monophysite creed! A few Christians of the Greek Church have found a sorrowful home and a sad interment in the bosom of that wonderful land. The Church of Rome, all along the dim ages of Moslem power, has not ceased to push its proselyting efforts into Egypt, for the conversion of the Coptic heretics, but with no other result than to intensify hatred and increase the breach between them. After the discoveries of the Portuguese in Abyssinia, renewed efforts were made by that Church for the conversion of the Copts, but with no better success than before. It had long been difficult for Christians of any class or sect, from other lands, to gain admission into Egypt with a view of propagating their religious faith. The imperious demands of Moslem intolerance were seldom relaxed; and, as time wore on, either from the insolence of the Romish missionaries, or at the instigation of the Copts, or from the intrinsic bigotry of the Moslem rulers, exasperated by the memory of the crusades, the whole land was locked against the admission of foreign Christians, and so continued for many years. The reckless disregard of life and liberty, so common in the Barbary States, was not unknown to the Turk-

ish rulers in Egypt. Time, however, has wrought a change. The land is open now — that brave old land, the scene of wonders in civilization, and wonders in arts, literature, mystic theologies and splendid monuments. It is all laid open now, and admits the tread of alien feet. Christians of all classes are equally favored and tolerated.

The Romish Church, which, for so many hundred years, had been spurned by the Monophysites of Egypt, has again entered the field, and, with a perseverance as faithful as it is untiring, recommenced its labors to bring that singular people into its bosom. In the mean time, the various Protestant Societies have been pushing their efforts, and establishing their missions among the people of that remarkable land, so fruitful in everything necessary to supply the demands of physical nature, and yet so barren in all that is essential to elevate the condition of moral and intellectual beings. Their labors have not proved wholly fruitless; "fanaticism is every day becoming less powerful," prejudice is wearing away, education is borne along as an indispensable auxiliary to the conversion of the people, and time may yet develop there, the religious and intellectual glories of the Athanasian age. Yet how very strange it is, how very sad, that a land once bursting with religious zeal and religious enthusiasm, once glowing with a rich and brilliant philosophy, and rent with the sharpest theological controversies — which rung with the mastertones of Athanasius and Arius, the one announcing his inexplicable riddle of three divine hypostases in one God, and the other keenly opposing it, and which gave to the world a doctrine deemed, by thousands of sober, honest and intelligent Christians, as fundamental in the Christian system, should now require the aid of foreign missions to reproduce and reinstate the very doctrine which had its origin there! Had the Christian world retained, with persistent faith and earnest zeal, the great doctrine of Divine Unity — one God, one Mediator, one grand system of religious truth, unencumbered with the increments of Pagan philosophy, the condition of affairs in all the regions of Mahometan glory might have been essen-

manes of a Christian glory that once beamed in effulgence over all that hapless land. It may be that dissensions among themselves, inducing one faction or the other to court the favor of the ruling powers, has led to their preservation. They read the sacred Word, if read they can; at all events they have, in what was once their native tongue, a Version of the Hebrew and the Christian Scriptures. The Coptic Version dates back indefinitely in the sombre Past — made, perhaps, in the second century, perhaps the third, or even later. Intimately connected with the Monophysites of Abyssinia, they have a Patriarch residing usually at Cairo, whose designated seat is Alexandria, and who exercises a general supervision over the churches, as well in Abyssinia as in Egypt. But the grand distinctive point of faith — the Trinitarian — which burst in Alexandria into active life, and so long held imperial sway both in Egypt and the world, is absorbed and nearly obliterated in the mouldy jargon of the Monophysite creed! A few Christians of the Greek Church have found a sorrowful home and a sad interment in the bosom of that wonderful land. The Church of Rome, all along the dim ages of Moslem power, has not ceased to push its proselyting efforts into Egypt, for the conversion of the Coptic heretics, but with no other result than to intensify hatred and increase the breach between them. After the discoveries of the Portuguese in Abyssinia, renewed efforts were made by that Church for the conversion of the Copts, but with no better success than before. It had long been difficult for Christians of any class or sect, from other lands, to gain admission into Egypt with a view of propagating their religious faith. The imperious demands of Moslem intolerance were seldom relaxed; and, as time wore on, either from the insolence of the Romish missionaries, or at the instigation of the Copts, or from the intrinsic bigotry of the Moslem rulers, exasperated by the memory of the crusades, the whole land was locked against the admission of foreign Christians, and so continued for many years. The reckless disregard of life and liberty, so common in the Barbary States, was not unknown to the Turk-

sin forever. The idea that God would thus plan and conduct his administration with his intelligent offspring, is equally objectionable as the one respecting the righteous, to which we have just alluded.

4. Again, a change in our Heavenly Father himself is involved in this theology. We are taught by it to regard him as the friend of sinners, while they are in the present life; desiring here their salvation, and calling upon them to enter upon it as far as they may by their own will and effort. But it is also affirmed that in the life to come this paternal leniency on his part will no longer be known. His love for the sinner ends with the sinner's dying breath. Henceforth his mercy is withdrawn, and he will punish without pity, eternally. He will not be "there, as here, the sinner's friend."

Having before us these inconsistencies in what has been taught as Christian theology respecting the Present and Future of man, let us consider certain evidences which appear to us conclusive of the hope of man's repentance and reformation as these shall be needed beyond the present life.

1. One of the plainest statements in the Bible connected with the mortal dissolution of man is, that his spirit returns to God. The ancient book of Ecclesiastes so reads: "Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return to God who gave it." Dr. Watts, indeed, writes of the soul of the sinner at death, that it

> "Ascends to God, not there to dwell,
> But hears its doom, and sinks to hell."

But this is in addition to the olden testimony just quoted. All souls return to their author, to Him who alone has the first and highest right to them, the right of disposal. And whatever may be his dealings with them, he will not, in anything, contradict that gracious paternity which first called them into being.

Again, we find no authority in the Bible for limiting the power or opportunity for repentance to this brief life. Texts have been invented to disprove such a supposition, like that

tially different. Egypt stands among the first to depart from the simplicity of Christ, and introduce those errors and corruptions which have so long and so fatally encumbered the Christian system. And the blight of hopes, the moral and intellectual darkness, and untold civil oppressions, the terrible result of these missteps, now fall heavily upon the hapless people of that ill-fated land. In the amazing and mysterious dispensations of the Infinite, the Future is often made to suffer for the sins of the Past. Civilizations not unfrequently run backward, but perhaps to gather new forces for a higher and grander development in future years. The Christianity of Egypt and northern Africa has gone down to its lowest ebb; it can change no more, except to rise to a better life and higher glory, or die outright!

Article XXX.

John Murray.

PART THIRD.

We continue our extracts from Mr. Murray's letters to Rev. Robert Redding, at first of Falmouth, but, at the date of the following letters, of Truro, England.

XII.

Boston, Nov. 10, 1795.

I have written a great deal, but I know not what I have written. All I know is, that, whatever I have written was, at the time, the language of my heart. For, whenever I sit down to write to my friend Redding, I feel as if I were seated by his side, and conversing with him; and, in such circumstances, my heart would most certainly dictate to my lips.

I am now, by Divine favor, just recovering from a time of much suffering. I mentioned in my last the accident I met with. I had then reason to think it would have brought me to the end of my journey. My leg was, for a considerable

"Sinners can turn to God and be saved, through Christ, in the next state of existence as surely as in this," we do find that which brings before us some of the weightiest evidences which we can ask in support of the doctrine of repentance and reformation of the imperfect and sinful of our race in the life to come.

1. Among these evidences let us consider that of the unchangeableness of God. He has signified his special and impartial love for sinners in this present world. He so loved them as to send to them "a Saviour, who is Christ the Lord." He is paternally interested in the salvation of his offspring. All Christian gospels, whatever other differences sects make in them, testify to this, God's interest, here and now, in the sinner's welfare. It is with this conviction that the Christian missionary goes to the ends of the earth. We regard this conviction as that of indisputable truth, the truth of God in Christ Jesus. And thus regarding it, we are prepared to believe and affirm that our Heavenly Father will love sinners, and seek their salvation in the life to come. "He cannot deny himself. — He is in one mind, and none can turn him."

2. Let us also consider God's enmity to sin, as well as his love of the sinful. One of the prominent mistakes of theologians is that which makes God the enemy of sinners, while the Scriptures represent him as being opposed to sin, and at the same time the friend of the transgressor. God's paternal love is specially manifested toward man, "in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." A good earthly father does not become the enemy of his children because of their transgressions. God's face is set eternally against wrong and sin, while his love goes out after the erring, calling upon them to return to him and find pardon and peace. Infinitely good himself, and opposed to iniquity, what but presumption is it to suppose that he will permit it to exist, and increase, and reign, in opposition to him, evermore? When we hear it affirmed that God is so holy that he cannot look upon sin with allowance, and that for this reason it is impossible for some sinners to enter into heavenly enjoyments; when we are

had been pleased. And if he did *not*, it was not that the creature might be able to give a display of *his* power, and *his* glory. Neither when the law was added, that the offence might abound, was it to give the creature a chance for boasting; but that "every mouth might be stopped, and all the world be guilty before God." On the whole, I cannot tell how, where, or when, God will manifest himself to the world; but of this I am assured, that whenever he does, heaven and earth will be filled with astonishment, and every creature in the one, and in the other, will unite in saying, "Thou art worthy." I am happy in believing that the Judge of all the earth is the doer, and that he does all things well. He can, and, as he can, he will, bring good out of evil. I have been often delighted with the order established by infinite Wisdom and infinite Power: "I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal." How beautiful this order! How different would it have been, had it been thus worded: I heal, and I wound; I make alive, and I kill! No: the top-stone shall be brought forth with shouting, crying, Grace! grace unto it! What have you, or I, or any of our fellow-sinners, to do with anything but grace, especially since it is only by grace we are saved? And if we *are* saved by grace, if the grace of God hath brought this salvation to us and to all men, what ought to be our employ? We ought to live a life of praise, not with our lips only, but with our lives.

I told you I met my fellow-laborers in convention. I take leave to inclose you one of our Circular Letters.

I should have been delighted to have had you with me on this tour. You would have been charmed with the view of the country. It is a country that, thirty years ago, had not one white inhabitant for the space of five hundred miles. Now, you can scarcely pass one mile in all that distance without seeing peaceful dwellings. Though I have travelled much in this country, indeed, many thousands of miles, yet I never was in *this* direction before. Nor should I now have been, if our annual Convention had not appointed their meeting in this new state. There never was a country that more literally corresponded with the account given of the Promised Land than this. It is indeed a land of hills, and of valleys, and of brooks of water. It is indeed a land literally flowing with milk and honey. This new state took the name of Vermont from the Green Mountains that run through it. After going something more than a hundred miles from home, you enter on the borders of this new state; and for many miles

God will not hold them to this obligation when it is morally impossible for them to answer to it by obedience and reconciliation to him. "A God of truth, without iniquity, just and right is he."

We may consider, furthermore, that no man is fully saved in the present life. Some of the purest Christians the earth has known, have realized this. "If we say we have no sin," writes the Apostle John, "we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." "For we who are in this tabernacle," says Paul, "do groan, being burdened; not that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life." There is a good beyond the present, never here fully realized, which the Christian believer has looked for by faith. Said the dying Selden, "Of all the texts I have ever dwelt upon in my ministry, no one gives me more comfort in the present time than this: 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief.'" He had hope in the transforming power beyond this mortal dissolution. Said the venerable Lyman Beecher, as he stood upon the confines of the immortal world, "Until this evening, my hope was a conditional one, but now it is full, free, entire."

This position, that all men are saved in a greater or less degree after the present life, is logically involved in the different creeds of the day. For example, the 39th Article of the Episcopal Church, speaking of original sin, says, "This infection of nature doth remain, yea, in them that are regenerate." And the Presbyterian Confession of Faith, says "Sanctification is throughout in the whole man, yet imperfect in this life; — there abideth still some remains of corruption in every part, whence ariseth a continual and irreconcilable war, the flesh lusting against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh. The imperfection of sanctification in believers ariseth from the remnants of sin abiding in every part of them, and the perpetual lusting of the flesh against the spirit; whereby they are often assailed with temptations, and fall into many sins, are hindered in all their spiritual services, and their best

little taxes, they live very well, and very easy, and, like the people of this country in general, are growing rich very fast. You would be astonished at the rapid increase of this country. Land that three years ago sold for eight pence [16 2-3 cents] [1] an acre, now sells for two dollars. The people in this country marry very young, and are very fruitful. But, besides the natural population, there are such multitudes flocking from various parts of Europe, that the increase is astonishing. And, indeed, I think it a very great mercy that God has, in his good providence, provided so good an asylum for the oppressed from every quarter of the elder world.

While I was confined, there came to see me a Mr. Pickle, a clergyman who is settled in a part of this country called the Province of Maine, now a part of this state. It is several hundred miles from home. I remember this same gentleman called on me last Fall. I thought him then, and still think him, a very serious, sensible, honest man. He seems to know *you* very well. I suspect he was one of Mr. Wesley's preachers. But this is mere conjecture. I do not love to ask questions. He wished to know if you were a Universalist. But here I defended your reputation by assuring him you were not. "What," said he, "and love him as well as you do?" "Certainly: why not? God loves him as well: why, pray, should not I? Yes, indeed, I do love him as well as if he thought in every point as I do. I should as soon think of disliking a friend because he was taller or thinner than myself, as I should on account of his differing from me in sentiment." I then told him a story.

"I was once," said I, "in company at a friend's house in Norwich, in Connecticut, and an old gentleman came in, observing that we were birds of a feather. 'Not now, sir,' said I. 'No,' he replied; 'I suppose *I* am a speckled bird.' 'Well, sir,' said I, 'we will not be ill-natured fowlers. We will not shoot at you.' 'I don't know that,' said he. 'Well,' said I, 'if we do, we shall do as they do in the Jerseys with the humming-birds. They make use of sand, instead of shot, to catch, not kill them. So, if we shoot at you, it will be to catch you, and not kill you. For, be assured, my dear sir, I sincerely love you.' 'Ay,' said he, 'never thank *you*. Your religion obliges you to love everybody.' 'True, my dear sir; but yours don't.' 'Why,' said he, 'that is as true.'"

"How," said this gentleman, "did they like to hear you in Cornwall?" "Why, sir, when you were at my meeting when

[1] Mr. Murray is using currency at sterling rates, to accommodate his correspondent.

have its progress, its accomplishment, its end. Of this last-named event he says, "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet. The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death." Immediately preceding this passage we read, "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But every man in his own order; Christ the first fruits, afterwards they that are Christ's at his coming. Then cometh the end." The end here mentioned is the end of Christ's mediatorial reign; of his separate kingdom as a Saviour. Having received it from the Father, he at last yields it up to him. But not until his work is accomplished, not until all things are subjected to his spiritual rule, — all opposing authorities and powers, — not until death, the last enemy, is destroyed — swallowed up in the victory of life immortal (and the last enemy implies that all other enemies are subjugated before it, as error, ignorance and sin); not until all are "made alive" in him, or until the resurrection work is completed, and all are raised up in the glory of the heavenly. Then, and not until then, is "the end" of Christ's saving action and rule. His relation to the soul as Teacher and Redeemer, does not cease at death, but continues until after the resurrection is completed, until the last enemy is destroyed, and all evil is overcome. Then comes the surrender of this kingdom to God the Father, "that God may be all in all." 1 Cor. xv.

It is here that we find an answer to that question often proposed, "If Jesus came to save all men from sin, and if, as we know, vast numbers of our race die in a sinful state, without ever having heard of his mission or his name, how can he with propriety be accounted the Saviour of all?" The mistake on the part of those who ask this question, is, in limiting or restricting the power of Christ as a Saviour, to the present life; in supposing that at the death of each individual his redeeming power over the soul ceases. We find nothing in the New Testament to justify this error, and the language of

little taxes, they live very well, and very easy, and, like the people of this country in general, are growing rich very fast. You would be astonished at the rapid increase of this country. Land that three years ago sold for eight pence [16 2-3 cents] [1] an acre, now sells for two dollars. The people in this country marry very young, and are very fruitful. But, besides the natural population, there are such multitudes flocking from various parts of Europe, that the increase is astonishing. And, indeed, I think it a very great mercy that God has, in his good providence, provided so good an asylum for the oppressed from every quarter of the elder world.

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and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father." Thus, "it pleased the Father, that in him should all fulness dwell, and having made peace by the blood of his cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself — whether they be things on earth or things in heaven." It is in this light that we interpret the Apocalyptic word, "I am He that liveth, and was dead; and behold, I am alive forevermore, Amen; and have the keys of hell (hades) and of death." Over the realm of the dead Jesus has dominion, that he may effect deliverance and salvation.

Such is the work of our divine forerunner, the victory which he is to achieve, the blessing he is to impart to all for whom he came in the mercy and love of the Father. "Wherefore," as we read in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "he is able to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them." For, "where sin abounded, grace did much more abound; that as sin hath reigned unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord." In the expressive language of Dr. Adam Clarke, "Thus we find that salvation from sin here is as extensive and complete as the guilt and contamination of sin. Death is conquered, hell disappointed, the devil confounded, and sin totally destroyed."

And as the light of Christian inquiry goes abroad, the more clearly will this conception of God's unlimited grace, through Christ his Son, be revealed and accepted. It is the doctrine of the New Testament. It has been in the church more or less, in the Past; more in the brightest, and less in the darkest times of its history. It is demanding utterance now, more than ever before, since the first centuries of the Christian era. The old partial theology is giving way before it. The doctrine of God's paternity is having surer vindication than ever. The irrepressible question, What has become of that vast number who have died in the Past, what of the condition of those who are dying in the Present, and who will die

rather have their obedience and service than their lives. So will it be with King Jesus. He 'will subdue all things unto himself;' and they who never before would 'have this man to reign over them,' shall be made willing in the day of God's power. 'The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ.' But they shall be punished 'with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.' Certainly, whatever comes from 'the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power,' must, in the nature of things, be eternal; and this is what they must be punished *with*. But there is an amazing difference between being punished '*with* everlasting destruction,' and being *everlastingly punished* with destruction. The people of Sodom were set forth 'as an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire;' but the prophet was directed to declare, they should return to their former estate. This they *may* do, though they had suffered 'the vengeance of eternal fire.' But had they been doomed to *suffer eternally* the vengeance of fire, they never could return to their former estate. The fire that consumed the cities of the plain was eternal fire. It came from heaven, not from earth; and had they suffered only one hour, they would have suffered the vengeance of eternal fire. We are told that 'the day shall be revealed by fire, which shall try every man's work.' If the work corresponds with the foundation, well; if not, the builder shall be punished. 'He shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, though it be as by fire.' 'Our God is a consuming fire.' 'He shall baptize with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.' Fire is more of a purifier than water. But this baptism is a painful baptism. God has not therefore made himself a liar, when he assures us that Jesus is 'the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world;' though were he to act as you suppose while reading the passage you advert to, instead of taking away the sin of the world, he would, in taking vengeance of or on them, confirm them in sin forever: which would, in fact, be taking vengeance on the Son, the Saviour, for whom all things were made. For, in this case, suppose the children of men were never brought to know God, 'whom to know is life eternal,' were never brought to obey the Gospel, then he, the Heir of all things, would suffer loss, and the Adversary would triumph therefore. You see, then, my friend, there is nothing in this portion of God's Word, nor do I think there is anything in any other part of God's Word, that would make Abraham, if he was now on earth, 'stagger

ture. So Jesus himself reasoned and taught. "I must work the work of Him who sent me while it is day; the night cometh, in which no man can work." He did not come here as a probationer for eternity; to be put upon trial; to be approved or accepted hereafter according to the character he might form. He came to do the very work on earth unto which he is ever calling all men. And what was his work here,— work which he could not do after he had passed to another stage of being? Plainly, to instruct men by direct and personal intercourse with them; to establish the authority of his mission by visible works; to illustrate its character and spirit by a life of goodness which could be seen and appreciated by men in the flesh; thus incorporating his religion in the heart of society, and laying there securely the foundation of knowledge, righteousness and happiness. This was his work on earth; and ours,—although not by all the same manifestations,—has a similar end in view. Christ lived here to increase the world's godliness and humanity by his word and example. This is just our work now. Daily duties and responsibilities meet us, such as can be met and answered by us only here. We are to improve ourselves, to aid and bless others. It is by such righteous human instrumentality, aided by divine power, that this earth is to be cleared of its corruptions, and made glad and glorious in the truth and love of God.

We are to understand, then, not that a true life here is to be sought mainly for the good it will secure to us hereafter, but for its sure and present gain. "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come"; i. e., godliness only is the truest, highest life anywhere in the universe of the Almighty. What we deny is, not the future, as well as the present, gain of godliness; but that the lack of present godliness in any soul precludes the possibility of the attainment of it by that soul in the Future. This we deny; and rejoice in the hope of that mercy which is as boundless as the resources of the Infinite One, and will effect the redemption of all souls from

rather have their obedience and service than their lives. So will it be with King Jesus. He 'will subdue all things unto himself;' and they who never before would 'have this man to reign over them,' shall be made willing in the day of God's power. 'The kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of God and of his Christ.' But they shall be punished 'with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power.' Certainly, whatever comes from 'the presence of the Lord and the glory of his power,' must, in the nature of things, be eternal; and this is what they must be punished *with*. But there is an amazing difference between being punished '*with* everlasting destruction,' and being *everlastingly punished* with destruction. The people of Sodom were set forth 'as an example, suffering the vengeance of eternal fire;' but the prophet was directed to declare, they should return to their former estate. This they *may* do, though they had suffered 'the vengeance of eternal fire.' But had they been doomed to *suffer eternally* the vengeance of fire, they never could return to their former estate. The fire that consumed the cities of the plain was eternal fire. It came from heaven, not from earth; and had they suffered only one hour, they would have suffered the vengeance of eternal fire. We are told that 'the day shall be revealed by fire, which shall try every man's work.' If the work corresponds with the foundation, well; if not, the builder shall be punished. 'He shall suffer loss, but he himself shall be saved, though it be as by fire.' 'Our God is a consuming fire.' 'He shall baptize with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.' Fire is more of a purifier than water. But this baptism is a painful baptism. God has not therefore made himself a liar, when he assures us that Jesus is 'the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world;' though were he to act as you suppose while reading the passage you advert to, instead of taking away the sin of the world, he would, in taking vengeance of or on them, confirm them in sin forever: which would, in fact, be taking vengeance on the Son, the Saviour, for whom all things were made. For, in this case, suppose the children of men were never brought to know God, 'whom to know is life eternal,' were never brought to obey the Gospel, then he, the Heir of all things, would suffer loss, and the Adversary would triumph therefore. You see, then, my friend, there is nothing in this portion of God's Word, nor do I think there is anything in any other part of God's Word, that would make Abraham, if he was now on earth, 'stagger

to the conclusion that something must eternally have existed, and also that that something must have involved life and intelligence, he, by a natural process of the mind, arrives at the idea of a first Intelligent Cause, which he names God.

Let the mind revert to the most primitive condition of matter, yet we cannot escape the thought of time or duration involved; and it is equally impossible to conceive of duration as subsisting in nonentity. The mind, however, can imagine a vast chaotic mass — an opaque space in which moves no sensuous form or atom — and void of any vestige of life. Such must forever have remained the condition of the motionless, lifeless, Godless, universal chaos. Yet even this blank chaos associates the idea of infinite expansion; for it would be as impossible to fix a boundary to this chaos, as a terminus to eternity, or a point beyond which blank nothingness reigns. Thus, should we divest it of everything else, this vast void must still remain, and with it the necessary idea of eternal duration. Of this thought we cannot rid the mind; it is inherent as is the capacity by which we think; and we reach this conclusion by the imperative law of limitation involved in the nature of the inquiry. Therefore, divested of God, life and motion, still these three elements, eternity, entity and expansion, must always have existed, and must eternally remain.

Such being the inevitable condition of nature without motion, so it would ever have remained. But without life there could not be motion, for motion supposes the existence of a living force; and unless there be a God in whom life and its attributes are inherent, there could be neither life nor motion. And it is more rational to conclude that life, intelligence, and all the evidences of design and adaptation, as seen in the varied expositions of nature, are the product of an eternally self-existent, Intelligent Cause, than to regard them as the result of the original chaos in which life and its concomitants did not exist. This latter supposition would rob God of the eternity of his being and make him a creature of the previously existing chaos; and would reduce the argument to a

generations,"—in this hiding-place from every storm,—in this ever-living, ever-loving Saviour!

I am, with true, with unabating affection, &c.,

JOHN MURRAY.

XIII.

No. VIII. is the postscript of the following letter, which we find among the papers in our hands. It had been put among the letters of a later year, one of the figures of the date having been misread.

BOSTON, Dec. 15, 1794.

Your very kind, your very friendly, your very obliging favor this moment presents itself before me, my ever-dear, my much-loved friend; and I feel as I ought to feel on the occasion, but as I never *wish* to feel on any occasion. It is abominable that you should remain unanswered so long. You should, however, have been answered much sooner, if you had not so well deserved an answer. But I found I had so much to pay, that, despairing of ever being able to discharge the debt, I sat me down in a kind of stupid despair, and did not wish to think anything more about it. But this morning, hearing of the last chance I can have this season, I am impelled to attempt something that may, in quantity, at least, though not in quality, serve as an apology for compensation. You see I have, therefore, taken up as large a sheet of paper as I could get for the purpose.

* * * * * * * * * *

"In this world"—no, we shall not, I suppose, in this world ever meet. We shall, as long as we continue in this world, be four thousand miles distant from each other. This is to me, I do assure you, a most painful consideration. Some time back, I had a pleasing dream. I thought I should see you and yours once more, in my native country, and present Mrs. Murray before you. But I am awake, and find it was a dream. But what of this world, and of the time we have to tarry in it? It is a changing state. Why, if I were once more to cross the Atlantic, and could once more be blest with your company, we must part again; and again to part would be still more tedious. But, should nothing but death part us, this we know. The time is short. We *must* part, and soon. Let us, then, my brother, my friend, look forward to *home*, to

our better country, where, if there is a Power above us as able as he is willing, we shall assuredly meet, to part no more forever. O transporting thought! O cheering consideration!

"Yet a season, and, we know,
Happy entrance shall be given—
All our sorrows left below,
And earth exchanged for heaven."

But, circumstanced as we are, how much are we indebted to Divine goodness for the inestimable privilege we now enjoy! In *this* way you can, in this way you do, "breathe over the Atlantic wave your warm wishes and most fervent prayers" — so warm that they warm us on their arrival. We thank you — most cordially we thank you. Believe us, they shall be returned with equal warmth. I am happy that my little family is thus present before you. I am happy we can be present in spirit, and that once a year, at least, we can tell each other so.

* * * * * * * * * *

I have, with great pleasure, presented your regards to as many of the friends you mentioned as were capable of receiving them; but, alas! my friend, the dearest and nearest of them all sleep in the narrow house. The venerable Winthrop Sargent and lady are no more. These best of parents have left us, and you may form some judgment of the mind of the dear author of the letters on the occasion, by the letters themselves. Never did parents feel a stronger affection for a child than they did for her: never did child feel a stronger attachment to parents than did Mrs. Murray to them. And never did parents more deserve it. The one, her mother, died in July: her father in December. The death of these parental friends has made a considerable change in our circumstances. Mrs. Murray was very much attached to Gloucester while they lived, and I was therefore not at liberty to leave the place, though many things conspired to make me willing. The accumulating infirmities from year to year rendered journeying more difficult, and in the winter it was very painful. I must then give up one or the other of the places I labored in — Gloucester, or Boston. The former was small, and rendered still smaller by deaths and removals: the latter a large place, and continually increasing. I am now, therefore, a resident in this town wholly. I have a very large and very commodious meeting-house, that will accommodate fifteen hundred hearers. I believe I have as large a congregation as

generations," — in this hiding-place from every storm, — in this ever-living, ever-loving Saviour!

I am, with true, with unabating affection, &c.,

JOHN MURRAY.

XIII.

No. VIII. is the postscript of the following letter, which we find among the papers in our hands. It had been put among the letters of a later year, one of the figures of the date having been misread.

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any in this place, though not as *rich* a congregation. They are, however, I trust, as rich in faith and good works as any other in the place. It is very true, churches are compared to gardens enclosed; but no enclosure ever kept out weeds. You, as a gardener, well know this. If this were not the case, we, as gardeners, would not have so much to do. There was a time I cared not for the things of this world. Perhaps I was not quite right in being quite careless. I find *now* I am obliged to be attentive to these matters. I receive from the people I labor among £5 a week, our money. (A guinea with us is £1 8s.) Out of this I pay £100 a year rent; £50 more for firewood and servants' wages; and all the other expenses attendant on housekeeping come out of the rest. You will readily perceive I cannot abound; nor do I suffer want. I can make my mind conformable to my circumstances, if I cannot make my circumstances conformable to my mind. Some few years ago, the living I have would have been ample; but now our markets are fifty per cent. higher than they were. This, to men of business, is no disadvantage. They can keep pace with the times. But salaried men of every description suffer. But no matter: I am hasting to my native rest, where I shall want nothing.

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I am exceedingly pleased that you are pleased with my—with our—manner of dedicating our children. I do not recollect ever hearing of any censure thrown upon it, even by the advocates for infant sprinkling, nor by the Baptists themselves. It is extremely pleasing to me to find it affords joy to you, that we should see alike in anything. Why, my brother, we are alike in almost everything. With respect to water Baptism we certainly see, and have for many years seen alike. I do not know in the Christian world a more unmeaning ceremony than Infant Baptisim. All ceremonies must be considered a figure of somewhat. John's Baptism was a most striking figure of the cleansing and purifying of every member of the body, of which Christ is the head, *at once*. Hence they were all immersed at the same time, in the same place. But if Infant Baptism means anything, as a figure, it is that whatever religion the subject may have in Future, shall be confined to his or her countenance. However, blessed be God! this is not always the case. This same Infant Baptism does them on whom it is imposed no harm. But, my brother, with respect to the object of our faith, our hope, or future sal-

God. And by its verdict he stands approved or condemned according as his thoughts, words and deeds are virtuous or vicious. This moral consciousness inquires not whether a vicious intention may not result in good, and thus seek a justification of the deed; for no palliation of its guilt can absolve from sin, or remove the censure of its own verdict, so long as it feels that an evil intention dictates the deed.

At this point, however, the intellect interposes its verdict, and reasons thus: God is the author of all things. He is is infinitely good, wise and just. His will, wisdom and power are absolute; and he is the primary source of all "things and events." His knowledge is absolute, comprehending and declaring the end from the beginning, and nothing can transpire without his knowledge and permission. He cannot see or know any thing or event in the Future as contingent, or as involving, simply, an hypothesis; for this would suppose the knowledge of that which would never happen. Therefore, with God nothing can rest on contingency — no hypothesis with him; all is absolute knowledge. Now, as God has constituted man, and conferred upon him faculties capable of both good and evil, and as he most certainly knew before creating him what would be his tendency to evil; wherefore impart a consciousness of moral qualities, which could not by its verdict of condemnation prevent the sinful deeds, which the infinite mind infallibly knew would be the result?

Hence originates what seems the irreconcilable conflict between the verdicts of reason and conscience. Conscience regards not the plea of reason, which would shift the responsibility of the sinful action, or palliate the guilt. Hence, we repeat, the conflict — reason excuses; moral consciousness condemns.

Take another view — Moral consciousness allows and acts upon its own responsibility; while the intellect refers the responsibility to God, affirming that even its own volitions are moulded and controlled by the Omnipotent will and law.

The reason of this conflict is found in the incapacity of

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nature, man discovers unity in variety, and agreement in diversity.

By applying this reasoning to the varied processes of God in nature, we shall discover, also, that his character is vindicated in all his ways and works, and that with him there is no conflict in the domain of the intellect and morals.

The most superficial glance at the phases of nature, reveal variety as the leading characteristic which marks it. From the smallest particle of matter up to the highest type of mind, however related and marked the similarity, no two are found precisely alike. Yet how infinitely dissimilar the forms and characteristics in the animal kingdom, as in the kingdoms of nature below it! Whence this diversity? No one supposes that it was necessary for the Creator to pause in the work of creation, and study out the multiplied varieties of worlds and beings, and then proceed with labored skill to mould them into their beautiful forms and proportions. Rather, all this infinite diversity has its base in the inherent and necessary law subsisting in him.

Thus, as in the domain of the finite, we have relative unity in diversity, likewise, with the Creator, we find infinite variety in Divine unity. In this view, we again reconcile the seeming conflict between the creative sovereignty and human responsibility. For as we can discover infinite variety in the grades and forms of living creatures in earth and skies, and yet see in them an evidence of the creative unity; in like manner the creative sovereignty, and the consciousness of moral responsibility, have their base in the law of diversity in God. Hence, we have infinite diversity reposing in Divine unity; and thus, from every point of view, are conducted to the central idea of the sovereignty and harmony absolute in God.

The foregoing reasoning furnishes a basis by which to justify the continued activity of God's creative energies.

The happiness of God results primarily from his own life, for it is a law of all life, that it finds the source of its happiness in its own selfhood. And not only is the production of

is not in general meant so much *believing* as *doing*, inasmuch as it is taken for granted every believer is personally righteous. But if the righteousness of God is not unto all, as well as unto the believer, then is the faith of Christ of none effect. Then would the Saviour have believed in vain. Nay, more: then would the unbeliever be justified in his unbelief. For if the righteousness of God was not wrought out for *him*, and *his* salvation, he had no right to believe it was. Nay, he would have believed a lie, if he had. If the righteousness of God had not been, by the word of Jehovah, declared his, he could not by his unbelief make God a liar. If the unbeliever has no salvation in Christ, is not blessed in him — in believing he *has* not, in believing he *is* not — he believes the truth as fully as any of God's elect. Can he be damned, or, as it is in the original, be condemned, for believing the truth? Surely not. It is, then, an eternal truth that God so loved the world that he gave them his Son; that this given Son died for the sins of the whole world; that he was, that he is, the Propitiation for the sins of the whole world; that he is the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world; that he gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time; that therefore in due time it will be testified unto all, that in the *Seed* all the families of the earth shall be blessed. Abraham believed this; I believe this; and all God's holy prophets from the beginning of the world believed this. And I am as sure as I am of anything I have not yet seen, that my loved friend Redding will believe it with his heart, and make confession of it with his mouth unto salvation; and, thus believing, I enter into rest on *this* head, and pass on — rejoicing in the consideration that, as you sweetly observe, "we shall soon see eye to eye, all error will flee away, and we shall be blessed with perfect knowledge of the truth." Now, even *I* see but in part, and know but in part; but then shall we see as we are seen, and know as we are known. We are *now* seen as the fulness of Him who is the second Adam. We are *now* known as the saved, and accepted of the Lord in the Beloved, — as complete in him. Eternal praises are His due who made us so.

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You kindly wish to be informed of our family, &c. I have already told you something of myself, and Mrs. Murray's parents. Mrs. Sargent, one of Mrs. Murray's principal correspondents, was, last July, burned out in the great fire in

hood; which sustains the conclusion that the Creative Energy stands forever justified, in eternally evolving lives, organizing forms and enthroning intelligences.

For this reason the child, in its joyous days of innocence, because it is not at once made a man, wise and influential, none the less values its life, and gladly accepts it with its conditions of childhood and helpless dependence. The old man, bowed with years of toil and disappointment, because he has grown old and cannot return to youth, does not therefore scorn his existence. On the contrary, his continual solace is that he exists still himself, and carries with him his own selfhood in all the varied journey of his being. The mendicant in the street, because he has not been enthroned a rich and honored king, does not, therefore, court annihilation. Nor yet does he propose to change his identity, or absorb his consciousness in even that of a king. Man, in the grand aggregate, because he is not endowed an angel or a God, does not cry out that all life is only disappointment and eternal vexation of spirit. In short, where is the man, be his allotment in life ever so humble and inharmonious, that would exchange his individuality, or surrender his consciousness? He is nowhere found.

Man's selfhood cries out, give me my own life — let me be and remain myself — give me my own experience, joys and sorrows, fortunes and misfortunes, loves and aversions — give me everything and all, that goes to individualize and make me myself — even with all my degradation and shame; but do not sink my identity, consciousness, selfhood, my life, my all, in that of another, though he be the most fortunate and honored of earth. Such a transition would be tantamount to the extinction of being.

This conscious truth sustains us in the conclusion, that the happiness of the creature is in its selfhood; and that it *is* thus a blessing to live, vindicates the goodness of God in the continuous exercise of his creative power.

Finally: "What of all this conjectural reasoning, and these theoretic deductions? The need of the world is practical

is not in general meant so much *believing* as *doing*, inasmuch as it is taken for granted every believer is personally righteous. But if the righteousness of God is not unto all, as well as unto the believer, then is the faith of Christ of none effect. Then would the Saviour have believed in vain. Nay, more: then would the unbeliever be justified in his unbelief. For if the righteousness of God was not wrought out for *him*, and *his* salvation, he had no right to believe it was. Nay, he would have believed a lie, if he had. If the righteousness of God had not been, by the word of Jehovah, declared his, he could not by his unbelief make God a liar. If the unbeliever has no salvation in Christ, is not blessed in him — in believing he *has* not, in believing he *is* not — he believes the truth as fully as any of God's elect. Can he be damned, or, as it is in the original, be condemned, for believing the truth? Surely not. It is, then, an eternal truth that God so loved the world that he gave them his Son; that this given Son died for the sins of the whole world; that he was, that he is, the Propitiation for the sins of the whole world; that he is the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world; that he gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time; that therefore in due time it will be testified unto all, that in the *Seed* all the families of the earth shall be blessed. Abraham believed this; I believe this; and all God's holy prophets from the beginning of the world believed this. And I am as sure as I am of anything I have not yet seen, that my loved friend Redding will believe it with his heart, and make confession of it with his mouth unto salvation; and, thus believing, I enter into rest on *this* head, and pass on — rejoicing in the consideration that, as you sweetly observe, "we shall soon see eye to eye, all error will flee away, and we shall be blessed with perfect knowledge of the truth." Now, even *I* see but in part, and know but in part; but then shall we see as we are seen, and know as we are known. We are *now* seen as the fulness of Him who is the second Adam. We are *now* known as the saved, and accepted of the Lord in the Beloved, — as complete in him. Eternal praises are His due who made us so.

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nobler the ultimate on which we fix the mind and anchor its resolution, the more certainly and easily will be gained a high position in the ascending scale of being. Teach man that he may approximate his God, may comprehend and accomplish marvellous things, open the exhaustless stores of Infinite knowledge, and invite to the golden gates of fame, honor, spiritual riches and undying happiness; and we excite an emulation worthy this high demand, and arouse him from the low and sensuous life of earth, and lead him onward and upward forever.

ARTICLE XXIX.

Africa: Physical, Historical and Ethnological.

PART SECOND.

THE history of the world in all its ages brings to view a series of facts which, to the Christian and the philosopher, is at once painful and instructive. Nations, like individuals, have their birth, their growth, their robust life, their summit of refinement and ultimate decay. Sometimes, by the vicissitudes of war, they are cut off in youth, or in more vigorous activity. Sometimes, rising to their full strength and glory, they pass rapidly through various corrupting influences to premature decline, and either fall to pieces by their own dissensions, or become an easy prey to some more vigorous power.

The Roman empire had reached the zenith of its civilization before the imperial seat had been transferred from Rome to Constantinople. Nearly all the great men, who had given grace, and vigor, and glory to the Roman name, had lived and achieved their own and the nation's greatness at an earlier period. The old city of seven hills, with all its massy adornments, and all the fairy creations of wealth and luxury

Yes, we shall live — we shall live together. We shall not be separated by the sea: there is no sea there. We shall live together with Him, who died together with us. We shall be forever with the Lord. Yes, it will be a glorious home. It will be indeed a blest abode, when we shall be near and like our God. We shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is. Even these vile bodies shall be fashioned like unto the glorious body of the Son of God. O transporting consideration! We will, my loved friend, enjoy this expected bliss by faith, till faith is lost in sight. This hope maketh not ashamed, we are confident. We trust in the Lord: why, then, should we not be confident?

. . . I often look in upon you in Truro; but I see you as a man who, having lost his sight, sees his friends — in the same circumstances in which he saw them last. So you will always appear to my mental eye, and it is a pleasing view. I hope I shall not lose it, till I see you and yours, in more pleasing circumstances.

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Your ever-obliged, ever-faithful friend, JOHN MURRAY.

ARTICLE XXXI.

Valerius the Great.

To the inquisitive and prying eye of childhood, an old garret is a storehouse of treasures. In mansions that have passed down through several generations in the same family, unmolested by the accession of strangers, this is more especially the case. Things long since gone out of date and forgotten are brought to light by the busy hands of children, and those antiquated, curious old materials of former days have a charm beyond the fashions and fabrics of a recent date. It not unfrequently happens that the Present reflects the Past, and what is considered new, and the invention of to-day, finds its prototype in far-distant and forgotten periods. What the old garret is to childhood, a bookstall in the street, thousands of which are found in old European cities, is to the inquisitive

life. The long and painful penance imposed upon himself by Anthony, an illiterate youth of lower Thebais, attracted a crowd of admirers, aroused their enthusiasm, and secured a host of followers to imitate the example, suffer the pains, and acquire the honors himself had won. Great numbers entered boldly into the gloomy wastes of the Libyan desert, or sought seclusion among the cliffs, within the caves, or on the slopes along the western banks of the Nile. The contagion spread with amazing rapidity throughout the Christian world, becoming even a species of monomania by which some of the finest minds and brightest ornaments of the Christian church were overwhelmed and absorbed. To the west, far on towards the lost Atlantis, or down into the arid bosom of the great Desert, this same herd of pious eremites worked their way, hewed out their lonely habitations, and then sunk into oblivion, or forged a worthless fame in perpetual solitude. Thousands were locked up in the barren retreats of stony Arabia; and others sat in sorrowful contemplation around Jerusalem, or, care-worn and shriveled, hung, like withered reeds, along the ragged tract bordering upon the dry bed of Kedron towards the Dead Sea. Many pretended that, by constant abstraction of mind, and contemplation of divine things, they had acquired a sort of inspiration, or spirit of prophecy; and a few had gained extensive notoriety by these bold pretensions. Seldom has the world been whelmed in a deeper and more malign superstition than that which preceded the overthrow of the Christian name and influence in Asia and Africa. The higher, as well as the lower, orders were alike absorbed and intervolved within its folds. On one occasion, the Emperor Theodosius, in reference to the issue of a pending battle, is said to have consulted a pious monk named John, living in a rude hut near Lycopolis, on the borders of the Nile, and received a prophetic answer which was afterwards confirmed by a most brilliant victory. Such was the superstition — such the credulity of the age, that even emperors, and philosophers, and Christian prelates bowed to the current opinion, and received for truth the vaticinations of an obscure fanatic,

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To the inquisitive and prying eye of childhood, an old garret is a storehouse of treasures. In mansions that have passed down through several generations in the same family, unmolested by the accession of strangers, this is more especially the case. Things long since gone out of date and forgotten are brought to light by the busy hands of children, and those antiquated, curious old materials of former days have a charm beyond the fashions and fabrics of a recent date. It not unfrequently happens that the Present reflects the Past, and what is considered new, and the invention of to-day, finds its prototype in far-distant and forgotten periods. What the old garret is to childhood, a bookstall in the street, thousands of which are found in old European cities, is to the inquisitive

It is not an easy task to develop the latent forces, and designate in full the various and efficient causes for the rapid and amazing successes of this new religion and new political power. The facts already passed in review may serve as a key to unlock the outer door, perhaps to enter the inner sanctum, and resolve the problem. The older nations had become effeminate — weakened by luxury, distracted by factions, wasted by domestic troubles and civil war, exhausted by a superstition which drew thousands from the productive classes into profitless seclusion, and enervated by the painful lack of that inner life which alone gives moral strength, and makes the martyr. The rising dynasty gathered to its standard a race inured to hardship, frugal in modes of life, bold, daring, independent, and disposed to fanaticism. They were probably descendants of the original inhabitants of Arabia — *autochthones* — Ishmaelites, perhaps, mingled with Scythian hordes, Sabæan exiles, and other aliens, whom chance, or oppression, or persecution, had driven from their native land to seek an asylum and liberty in the inaccessible fastnesses of Arabia. The new religion, a strange mixture of Monotheism, Fatalism, austere maxims, and the promise of a sensual paradise to the faithful, addressed itself, with keen directness, to the common heart, and was well adapted to the genius of a rude and barbarous people, governed more by passion and impulse than by reason and understanding. The deep religious feeling which prevailed throughout that wild and sterile land, as shown by the annual pilgrimages to the shrine of *Caaba*, was easily wrought into a stern and ruthless fanaticism, which might urge to any violence, and even dare the kiss of martyrdom. Nor is it to be presumed that such a people, imbued with such a spirit, could look with favor, or even allowance, on the errors and corruptions that entered deeply into the Christian faith — its polytheistic assumption of God in three persons, its dualistic nature of the second Deity, its worship of invisible beings under the form of images, its real presence of the holy body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the Eucharist — all demanding implicit faith without reason, and even

governed well and justly they were celebrated and accorded divine honors, and were even ranked with the gods themselves, so that at the present day we call the Cæsars divine and sacred. Valerius, on his father's side, was descended from the noble house of Valerii, and on his mother's side, from the line of the Fabii, so that from both he was entitled to the appellation of Valerius the Great. Of his death we have no certain account."

It appears from this brief biography that the love of learning and its humanizing influences had not quenched the desire for military renown, to which he was probably farther incited from curiosity and that ardor for adventure so natural to youth, and which is as marked in our republic at this day as it was in the days of imperial Rome. But after the desire had been satisfied, he again resumed the pen, and employed his latter days in historic sketches of remarkable men, their sayings and doings, and we find his example followed by many now that *our* conflict is at an end. We are led to understand that his title to Great was not conferred on him for any merit of his own, but was hereditary, and descended to him by the law of transmission, though the complexion of his writings show him more worthy of it than many on whom it is bestowed. The book is dedicated to Tiberius Cæsar, and is of that adulatory type that has characterized succeeding ones of a similar import. The following translation from the pen of the author speaks for itself.

"I have undertaken to collect the acts and also the memorable sayings of the Romans and foreign nations, selected from their illustrious authors, and which are so widely scattered that it would be difficult for them to be even known in common, and those who would profit by the examples set forth would find it a great labor to search them out. Not that I have comprehended the whole, for who is he that could gather together the deeds of all ages and comprise them in a few volumes? Who is he (if he is wise) who would undertake, or could hope to carry forward the domestic and foreign histories so copiously and happily composed by our ancestors, and that in a style so elegant and full as they have done? Wherefore, in this undertaking I invoke you, sovereign Cæsar, who art

Though the outlines of a common faith were sharply marked and rigidly enforced, there still remained a perpetual and irrepressible tendency to break the lines and introduce innovations. Philosophers thought, and reasoned, and speculated, and issued their speculations, only to be attacked and condemned by cotemporaneous philosophers. Distinguished prelates of equal sagacity and equal orthodoxy entertained different opinions, and propounded theological questions which could be determined only by the sharpest finesse, and the decision of synods and councils. Even councils themselves sometimes changed their decisions at the instance of shrewd debaters and artful intriguers. The contest between the Eastern and Western churches extended only to minor points — chiefly for ecclesiastical supremacy, while all else was bound in the iron bands of a sanctioned creed. Mind, however, could not be chained; new opinions were advanced, and new sects sprang into active being. The older sects, condemned as heretics, still retained their vital force, and gathering greater strength and fiercer hate, became at length an element of weakness, as well to the state, as to the great frowning hierarchy which controlled it. The Nestorians of Persia, and the Monophysites of Egypt and Abyssinia, had never submitted to Rome or Constantinople. The heresy of the Arians and Donatists in northern Africa, though crushed and silenced, still slumbered in apparent repose, or burned with smothered fires, which sometimes burst into a full and lurid flame. Every effort was made, by king and council, imperial edicts and ecclesiastical anathemas, to suppress and obliterate all dissenting sects. The fires of persecution, lighted, and nursed, and fanned in other days, now burned with intenser and more appalling fierceness. Hundreds and thousands of the Copts or Jacobites of Egypt and Nubia, the Nestorians, Donatists, Arians and other minor sects suffered, with intrepid resolution, the terrible pangs, without securing the merited honors, of martyrdom. It was not unnatural for even conscientious Christians, so fiercely persecuted, to greet an invading force as a divine agent sent for their deliverance. What-

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commander of the faithful. But his term of authority was very brief; he was soon called by the angel of death to join the departed prophet, and Omar, a severe and energetic leader, was named to fill his place.

II. It was under this caliph that Amrou, a shrewd and active leader, was sent for the conquest of Egypt. He took the great highway of invading armies, through Pelusium, captured that city, and appeared with a small army before Memphis. The city soon submitted, and, by the aid of the Coptic or Monophysite Christians, the Saracen army, now greatly reinforced, was shortly after conducted to Alexandria. After a long siege and obstinate resistance, that city, also, yielded to the invincible valor of the Moslem forces, and the famous Alexandrian Library, which Amrou would have spared, was completely destroyed by order of the ignorant and bigoted Omar. The fall of Alexandria overthrew the Roman power in Egypt, and diverted the immense riches of that fertile land from Constantinople into the barren wilds of Arabia. But the clamors of the people, deprived of their support and their luxuries from the granaries of Egypt, soon compelled the Byzantine court to attempt the reconquest of that country. Though the Roman armies again occupied the harbor and the fortifications of Alexandria, the invincible Amron drove them out, and established, for a long period, the Moslem power over the classic waters of the Nile. Equally a statesman and a warrior, he now directed his attention to the administration of public affairs, established a harmonious relation between the native races and his own people, equalized the burdens of revenue, and appropriated a considerable part in making improvements for the benefit of the people and his own glory. He founded a city, called *Fostat*, on the grounds now occupied by the ruins of old Cairo; he built and beautified a palace for his own residence, and opened a canal to unite the waters of the Nile with those of the Red Sea — a work which had before been attempted or completed under the Ptolemian dynasty, or perhaps at an earlier period, under the dynasty of the Pharaohs. But envy and jealousy, so common in the world, which

and the least unfavorable sign in the sacrifices was followed with disastrous results, as will appear by what follows. Sulpicius was deposed from his sacerdotal office, because, while sacrificing, the tassel of his cap fell, and Fabius Maximus was deprived of the dictatorship, and Caius Flaminius of the command of the cavalry, because, during the sacrifice, a mouse was heard to make a noise. Publius Licinius, the great high priest, ordered a vestal virgin to be flogged because she suffered the light to go out one night which should always be kept burning. The goddess Vesta pardoned a lady, a novitiate, who also allowed the light to go out. When she found it extinguished, she threw herself upon the image of Vesta, offering up her prayers. She then took her veil of fine linen, and laid it on the place where the fire had been, when suddenly a flame arose, and the lamp was lighted."

The author seems to have been truly orthodox in his religion, and we shall find in further extracts that he was not less loyal to his government. He was not of the progressive stamp, but opposed to all innovations. Had he lived under the meridian of London, instead of Rome, and flourished in the nineteenth century, he would have attributed whatever prosperity the country enjoyed to "the Church," and have declaimed against any changes in the established order of things. Any relaxing of the discipline, or deviation from the ritual, would have found in him a stern opposer, and he would have joined in the cry, "the Church is in danger!" He thus speaks of the blessings and prosperity to which the state is indebted by the strict observance of its religious ceremonies: "We cease to wonder at the constant support we have received from the Gods, and of the increase and safety of the Roman empire, when we consider the care and vigilance of the people in preventing the slightest deviation from the established religion, as was shown by the falling of the tassel of a cap, and the noise made by a mouse."

Another instance of the jealousy of the government of anything that might induce any innovation, or turn the minds of the people out of the prescribed track, is given in the following extract. It is an *auto da fé* against heretical works, and

Ambition, envy and jealousy are too apt to enter into the councils, and control the conduct of men, — especially those of small capacity and narrow views, whom chance or fortune may have thrown into a position to assume the management of great public affairs. Inseparable companions of ignorance and bigotry, they too often join hands in the production of strife and discord. The Moslem affairs had reached a point at which these passions, even among the devout and faithful, began to struggle for the mastery. Mahomet was gone, Omar was gone, and the leading companions of the prophet had passed to their rest. The different tribes of the Arabian Desert, now thoroughly imbued with the faith and religion of Mahomet, began to show signs of former jealousy and desire to rule. Contentions ensued — disputes and bickerings, attacks and reprisals, insurrections and assassinations, which arrested for many years the further conquest of Africa. The disputes, however, were at length so far adjusted as to allow renewed scope for the irrepressible desire of conquest. After the withdrawal of the Saracen force, the people of Africa were treated with terrible severity by the agents of the Byzantine court. Notwithstanding their losses, their sufferings, and their cries of poverty, they were compelled, with pitiless rigor, to pay a tribute equal to that exacted by their Moslem conquerors. The very power which should have been their protector, laid upon them the weightiest hand of oppression. Drawn between the upper and the nether millstone, they had no alternative but to make a choice between the greater and the lesser evil. With singular unanimity the step was taken. All classes, Moslem and Christian, orthodox and heretic, saint and sinner, united in calling upon the Arab caliph for protection against the relentless despotism of the Byzantine emperor. Their cries reached at length the ears of the caliph, and a force was sent for their relief; but as soon as it was withdrawn, the same severities against the unhappy Africans were again enforced by the tyrants of Constantinople. They were even increased and intensified by the orthodox patriarch of Carthage, whose monstrous extortions on all classes, were

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Under the caliph Abdalmalek, Hassan, the bold and adventurous governor of Egypt, was sent with a powerful army into the western provinces. The Greeks, now in alliance with the Goths of Italy, had assembled a large army near Utica; a battle ensued, Hassan was victorious, the routed Greeks were driven to the coast, a timely embarkation saved them from utter extirpation, but all that remained of ancient Carthage was again committed to the flames. Unsupported at home, and unable to retain his conquests, the daring Hassan returned to Egypt, and left the conquered provinces to the mercy of his enemies. And that mercy! Through its terrible influence, the splendid Christian establishments which once lifted up their heads, so beautiful and so grand, were fast fading away. "God and Mahomet" was deemed a lesser evil than the corrupt, and sordid, and bigoted, and vindictive body clothed in gorgeous robes in the name of Jesus. Changes again ensued. Another Moslem army was sent to the theatre of strife, and indented its fearful footprints on that ill-fated soil; the Grecian power was again overthrown, and the Moorish tribes compelled to submit to the religion as well as the power of the victorious Arab. Thenceforth the African provinces were irrevocably severed from the Byzantine empire.

But the Moslem chiefs, successful on the coast of the Mediterranean and in the interior towards the Great Desert, down perhaps to the rich oasis of Fezzan, were not disposed to remain inactive. They advanced to the west, over the grounds so recently trodden by the valorous Akbar, and, a few years later, erected the standard of the crescent on all the lands, even to the mighty waters which receive to their placid bosom the setting sun. Back from the Atlantic coast, at the southwest of Gibraltar, is a spur of the Atlas Mountains, which stretches from the borders of the desert northerly to about the thirty-third degree of latitude, and then makes a bend, like a huge serpent, towards the east. On the western periphery of this bend, embosomed in a picturesque valley, surrounded on nearly all sides by broken lands, slopes and ridges, lies the quiet and romantic city of Fez. It was the

erently discussed the established religion." "The Athenians banished from their city the philosopher Diagoras, because he had the audacity to say, in his writings, that he was ignorant of the existence of any Gods, and if by chance there were any, he did not know who or what they were. The same people condemned Socrates because it appeared that he wished to introduce a new religion. They tolerated the sculptor Phidias while he held the opinion that it would be better to make the statue of Minerva of marble, instead of ivory, as it would retain its color longer, but when he stated further that it would not be so costly, he was ordered to keep silence."

Sometimes the Gods themselves became the avengers of those who had offended them, of which the author furnishes a number of examples. It will only be necessary to translate two or three. "Apollo took a severe revenge for his outraged divinity, when robbed of a golden ornament with which he was adorned when Carthage was sacked by the Romans. The hands of the perpetrator of this sacrilege were drawn from his body and found between the folds of his garment. Brennus, captain of the Franks, pillaged the temple of Apollo at Delphos, and by the will of the God became his own executioner."

Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, receives a large share of notice from the author. He was a mocker of the Gods, a professed Atheist. He boasted of his sacrilegious acts in robbing their temples and altars, and added insult to injury by his witty remarks. He was the Voltaire of his day.

"Dionysius, the tyrant, a native of Syracuse, a city in which learning flourished, took pleasure in recounting the sacrileges which he had committed, and which were of universal notoriety. After having spoiled the temple of Proserpine, and having a fair wind on his homeward voyage, he said to his companions, 'See how the Gods favor those who commit sacrilege.' He took a garment of gold of great weight from Jupiter Olympus, that Hiero, the tyrant, had taken in booty in the Carthaginian war, and with which he had adorned the statue of that God, supplying its place by a mantle of cloth, saying, 'a golden cloak is too heavy for summer wear, and

sion into the Spanish peninsula; and thus, for the first time, they set their hostile feet on European soil. Tarik, a bold and skillful soldier, crossed the straits at the head of five thousand dauntless Arabs, and gave the name Gibraltar,— *Gebel al Tarik*, or mountain of Tarik,—to the promontories which had so long been known as the *Pillars of Hercules*. After a terrible conflict, the victory was decided in favor of the invaders, and from a Christian empire the Spanish domain was changed to a Moslem province. Not content with the possession of this beautiful land, under Abderame, the Saracen governor, they pushed their way, with a large army, across the Pyrenees, and commenced an indiscriminate ravage of ancient Gaul, the present French dominions. They had reached the Loire, and spread their conquests over one-half of the territory of France. On the wise counsels and dauntless valor of Charles Martel, and his fearless soldiers, hung for a time the momentous question whether Europe, as well as Asia and Africa, should acknowledge Mahomet as a prophet, and submit to the revelations of the Koran. But the prize, so nearly won, was torn forever from Moslem hands; yet in Africa, as well as the East, the memory of this defeat served only to inspire intenser hatred and vengeance, and renewed efforts to gain the crown. The Moorish tribes and African Arabs, all along the Mediterranean coast, looked with profound jealousy and burning covetousness on the rich and fertile fields across the sea. Their corsairs at length obtained control of the Mediterranean, and successively attacked, conquered, colonized, and held for a considerable time, the islands of Corsica, Sicily and Sardinia, and even the southern portions of the Italian peninsula. They were finally expelled by the Norman princes, the Gothic conquerors, and other invaders of beautiful Italy. It was not until near the close of the fifteenth century, that, by the military prowess, perhaps the religious bigotry, of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Moslem authority was completely overthrown in Spain, and the Moors expelled from that country.

But during the long period of their dominion, it must be

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solved into a mere shadow, changing continually with the petty revolutions that rapidly followed each other like the changing hues of the chamelion.

IV. Down from the immense tracts of mountain and morass in northern and central Asia, the great prolific source of conquering hordes in former years, came the dauntless Turks, who overthrew the Saracen empire, bore into the scope of living history another race — the Ottoman dynasty — and carried their conquests into Egypt, and even far along the northern borders of Africa. The sea soon became infested, more than ever, with marauding bands of pirates and corsairs, who committed their depredations without remorse and without restraint, seized and enslaved whatever Christians came unfortunately within their reach. The mild appellative of *Christian dog*, which originated during the crusades, became afterwards both the signal and the justification of the darkest deeds and severest cruelties. The descendants of the Spanish Moors, expelled from their ancient home by Christian bigotry, found, in aid of these freebooters, a full gratification of their avarice and revenge. The small kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers and others had passed their embryonic state, and now commenced a restless puling for national recognition. They have received the emphatic cognomen of *Barbary States*, either from the word *Barbarus*, applied by the Romans to all foreign nations, or from a word more deeply significant of their own deep depravity. Three brothers named Barbarossa, sailing under Turkish colors, achieved for a time the leadership of all the pirates infesting the Mediterranean. So insolent and audacious had they become, as to attract the attention of European nations, and Charles V. fitted out an immense armament for their destruction. Sailing at an unfavorable season of the year, his fleet and his army met with a fatal disaster from the violence of a terrible storm, such as had never been known on the African coast. By the failure of this expedition, the Barbary freebooters were emboldened to pursue their infamous and profitable piracies; but they afterwards suffered severely, as well from the perpetual con-

of fulfilment. The author thus explains the meaning of presages: "To give due regard to presages, that is, to those designs which men conceive and declare, and which the event proves to have been true, is of religious obligation; for such foreshadowings are not to be looked upon as the result of fortuitous circumstances, but as proceeding from Providence and the divine will." A number of examples are cited from which it will only be necessary to select a few. The presage and its accomplishment are so nicely adjusted, so obviously plain, that he who accepted the presage could scarcely fail to act upon its authority. The following is one of these *very clear* prognostications: "What arrived to Camillus is worthy of record. It fell to his lot to go to war with the King of Persia. When returning from court to his house to kiss his little daughter, named Tertia, he observed that she was dejected and sorrowful, and he inquired the cause of her trouble. She told him that Persia was dead. This was the name of a little dog with which she amused herself. This event Camillus accepted as a presage, and from this chance expression he felt in his heart a certain hope of signal triumph over the King of Persia."

It has been observed in the preceding remarks, that the author was not only orthodox in matters of religion, but loyal to his government. We can therefore very well understand that Brutus would not find in him an apologist for his assassination of Cæsar, and he cites a presage which Brutus had of his defeat, and which was a merited retribution for his great crime. "The disastrous result that befell Brutus, and one so richly deserved for the murder of Cæsar, THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, was a subject of presage. After that wicked act of Brutus, as he was celebrating his birthday, and wished to quote a verse from the Greek, this line from Homer presented itself to his memory:

'Cruel fate and the son of Latona have been my ruin.'

Apollo was the son of Latona, and his image was wrought in in the standards at the battle of Philippi, where Brutus was defeated, and against whom Apollo directed the fatal steel with which he slew himself."

victors, however, were permitted to hold their dominion but a short time. The great Saladin, descended from the hardy Kurds beyond the Tigris, whose name became so fearful and so famous in succeeding ages, successfully resisted the Franks, acquired the sovereignty of Egypt, and carried his conquests into the neighboring countries. He overthrew the kingdom of Jerusalem which had been established by the indifferent successes of the early crusaders. His army, collected in Egypt for that purpose, contained a corps of three thousand colored troops, who, zealous for the Moslem cause, are said to have behaved with signal intrepidity in the siege and capture of the Holy City. Saladin began his course in allegiance to the caliphs of Bagdad, but afterwards threw off the yoke, and established an independent government. His labors, however, proved to be barren of any lasting results; by the wing of the death-angel himself, his possessions and his power were swept away as fleetly as they had been gained. He made some improvements in the condition of the people of Egypt, but beyond a few smiles during his life, and a few honest tears shed at his death, all the good achieved was squandered and absorbed by the foolish tyranny and incapacity of his successors.

The Turks had already made their way through blood and carnage from the south, perhaps the north, of the great Altai range of mountains, and turned their brutal faces towards the milder clime of Persia. At every step it had been their custom to exterminate the races who had fallen before their vengeful arms. But, glutted with blood, and influenced, like all victorious barbarians, by the lust of gain, they spared the young and vigorous of their captives, and sold them into slavery. The successors of Saladin sent ambassadors to these brutal conquerors, and negotiated the purchase of slaves, or prisoners from the Circassian and Georgian hills, to be trained and employed as soldiers. In a few years, they had gathered an immense body who received the name of Mamalukes, and who, born of a hardy race, and educated in the Egyptian arts of war, knew no other pursuit, and became at length a for-

of fulfilment. The author thus explains the meaning of presages: "To give due regard to presages, that is, to those designs which men conceive and declare, and which the event proves to have been true, is of religious obligation; for such foreshadowings are not to be looked upon as the result of fortuitous circumstances, but as proceeding from Providence and the divine will." A number of examples are cited from which it will only be necessary to select a few. The presage and its accomplishment are so nicely adjusted, so obviously plain, that he who accepted the presage could scarcely fail to act upon its authority. The following is one of these *very clear* prognostications: "What arrived to Camillus is worthy of record. It fell to his lot to go to war with the King of Persia. When returning from court to his house to kiss his little daughter, named Tertia, he observed that she was dejected and sorrowful, and he inquired the cause of her trouble. She told him that Persia was dead. This was the name of a little dog with which she amused herself. This event Camillus accepted as a presage, and from this chance expression he felt in his heart a certain hope of signal triumph over the King of Persia."

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V. The history of the Turks is little more than a melancholy chronicle of ignorance, bigotry, tyranny and blood. The Saracen caliphs, especially in the summit of their glory, were very zealous and devoted in the culture of the mind. In the darkness that whelmed mediæval Europe, they held the keys to the great treasury of science and literature. While the northern barbarians who had overrun Europe, were passing their transition state, offering a bounty to ignorance, and spurning knowledge, except such as related to martial affairs, learning and its long train of disciples found a safe retreat under the ægis of the Moslem power. Spain, Africa, Egypt, Arabia and Damascus became greatly distinguished for their culture of science and literature, and their perfection in many of those arts which render luxury agreeable and civilization glorious. The famous Damascus blades, the peculiar temper of which is now a lost art, have chronicled that city in the annals of eternal fame. To the Arabian philosophers the world is indebted for some of the most valuable discoveries and useful inventions developed in the long period of human progress. The old alchemy, born in Egypt, was reinvested in the Arabian laboratories, and became a starting-point of the more useful discoveries in modern chemistry. But it must be confessed that the most sordid motives — the insatiable thirst for gold, the *auri sacra fames*, the irrepressible desire for the transmutation of the baser metals into that shining dust — lay at the foundation, and formed the moving power of all their arduous efforts. But the Turk — the Turk is a barbarian still, with little, if any, hope of intellectual elevation; the Turk, especially in Egypt, has sunk even below that sordid level, and is sinking, sinking, sinking still!

The Christian sects! Through all that long and cloudy period, so rapidly passed in review, how fared the Christian sects along the current of the old historic Nile? The Coptic Christians, Monophysites, like the exiled Hebrews, have maintained their identity and distinctive character; and a squalid remnant, in defiance of the scorn, the curses and the persecutions of the ruling race, still remain, the mere shadows or

out for him at table, it was found to be mixed with blood, and this not only once, but three times in succession. He therefore sent to inquire of the diviners, who returned for answer that he ought to abandon the enterprise."

This account is interesting at the present time, from the similarity of what is taking place around us. As the old garret discloses dresses that for generations had been obsolete, but in the revolution of years again become the fashion of the day with slight alterations, so old books reveal customs which are reproduced as great marvels. These diviners were the ancient mediums, and when they were in *rapport* with the departed they had free communication with them. It would be instructive to know the "modus operandi" in obtaining answers to their inquiries. Tipping and rapping tables are not mentioned, but as they succeeded in getting the required information, we may presume that as rational and satisfactory methods were employed.

Dreams are the subject of another chapter, and one of the longest in the book. We are at no loss to account for this, for in all ages they have been the prolific source of foreshadowing events, and stretching over such wide and varied fields in the chaotic mind of the sleeper, they admit of almost every interpretation the believer in them may please to affix. The author says, "They are not to be numbered with vain and frivolous things, but as true and certain." We will take the first example, and let that serve as a specimen of the rest.

"As Astorius, the physician of Augustus Cæsar, was asleep in his bed, the night before the armies of Augustus and Anthony on the part of the Romans, and the bands of Brutus and Cassius on the other side, were to engage in the field at Philippi, the image of Minerva appeared to the said physician, and commanded him to say to Augustus, that although he was very sick, yet his sickness must not keep him away from the conflict. Cæsar giving heed thereto, caused himself to be carried in a litter to the field, forsaking his tent, and, as far as in him lay, labored and watched to gain the victory, but the soldiers of Brutus took his pavilion. Although Augustus had determined not to leave his tent on account of

ish rulers in Egypt. Time, however, has wrought a change. The land is open now — that brave old land, the scene of wonders in civilization, and wonders in arts, literature, mystic theologies and splendid monuments. It is all laid open now, and admits the tread of alien feet. Christians of all classes are equally favored and tolerated.

The Romish Church, which, for so many hundred years, had been spurned by the Monophysites of Egypt, has again entered the field, and, with a perseverance as faithful as it is untiring, recommenced its labors to bring that singular people into its bosom. In the mean time, the various Protestant Societies have been pushing their efforts, and establishing their missions among the people of that remarkable land, so fruitful in everything necessary to supply the demands of physical nature, and yet so barren in all that is essential to elevate the condition of moral and intellectual beings. Their labors have not proved wholly fruitless; "fanaticism is every day becoming less powerful," prejudice is wearing away, education is borne along as an indispensable auxiliary to the conversion of the people, and time may yet develop there, the religious and intellectual glories of the Athanasian age. Yet how very strange it is, how very sad, that a land once bursting with religious zeal and religious enthusiasm, once glowing with a rich and brilliant philosophy, and rent with the sharpest theological controversies — which rung with the mastertones of Athanasius and Arius, the one announcing his inexplicable riddle of three divine hypostases in one God, and the other keenly opposing it, and which gave to the world a doctrine deemed, by thousands of sober, honest and intelligent Christians, as fundamental in the Christian system, should now require the aid of foreign missions to reproduce and reinstate the very doctrine which had its origin there! Had the Christian world retained, with persistent faith and earnest zeal, the great doctrine of Divine Unity — one God, one Mediator, one grand system of religious truth, unencumbered with the increments of Pagan philosophy, the condition of affairs in all the regions of Mahometan glory might have been essen-

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time, in a mortified state. But it is not now. I am now unable to determine what will bring me to my end. I am happy in the assurance that *something* will. From this assurance I derive much pleasure. Wretched would be our condition, had we no hope but what we have in *this* life. But I can truly say I never suffered so much in the time, in my life, as I have suffered since I have been confined. How often, while tortured with pain, have I reflected with transport on the word of our Saviour, "There shall be no more pain!" I have found advantage, much advantage, from this affliction. Indeed, I never was afflicted that I did not. I can truly say, "It was good for me that I was afflicted." And indeed, my friend, I have often thought it would be much for the honor of our Saviour, to believe that nothing will ever take place in this world that will not, in some sort, and indeed in the best, the very best sort, terminate in his glory, and the creature's good. And, suffer me to add, it would be for the honor of our Saviour, to believe that his glory and his creatures' good must forever be inseparably connected.

How sweet is ease after pain! How sweet will heaven be after earth! The bitter, said Mr. Bunyan, goes before the sweet; and this makes the sweet the sweeter. I am inclined to think that this was the reason our Saviour gave us a being here, and made this world a tribulation state: that we may know how much we are indebted to the Father of our spirits for the riches of his grace. God, in the greatness of his power, might have given us purity and peace here. How easy would it have been for the infinitely Wise to have prevented the subtle serpent from deceiving our first parents! He could have upheld them by the word of his power, and made them so as not to be subjected to vanity. While men slept, He who nevers slumbers nor sleeps could have prevented the enemy from sowing his seed; so that the good seed he had sown, should never have surprised the servants by bringing forth such bad fruit. But it is said that man would have no merit in being good, if his nature was pure. Had he not been made subject to vanity, he would not have any merit in resisting the temptation. Alas for him! Nor has he any merit as it is, inasmuch as he did *not* resist the temptation. And, indeed, there is nothing that can be said, at least that ever I have heard, respecting the origin of evil, that has appeared to me satisfactory. God, our Saviour, most certainly knew what would take place in the world, in consequence of the introduction of evil. He could have prevented it, if he

Christ, and at length consecrated into a chapel, and dedicated to the Virgin. This sanctified edifice was allowed to remain in Galilee as long as that district was inhabited by Christians, but when infidels got possession of the country, a band of angels, to save it from pollution, took it in their arms, and conveyed it from Nazareth to a castle in Dalmatia. This fact might have been called in question by incredulous people, had it been performed in a secret manner, but that it might be manifest to the most short-sighted spectator, and evident to all who were not perfectly deaf as well as blind, a blaze of celestial light and a concert of divine music accompanied it during the whole journey; besides, when the angels to rest themselves set it down in a little wood near the road, the trees of the forest bowed their heads to the ground, and continued in that respectful posture as long as the sacred chapel remained there. But not having been treated with suitable respect at the castle above mentioned, the same indefatigable angels carried it over the sea, and placed it in a field belonging to a noble lady called Lauretta, from whom the chapel takes its name. This field unfortunately at that time was frequented by highwaymen and murderers, a circumstance with which the angels were undoubtedly unacquainted, when they placed it there. After they were better informed, they removed it to a high hill belonging to two brothers, where they imagined it would be perfectly secure from the dangers of robbery and assassination; but the two brothers, proprietors of the ground, being equally enamored of their new visitor, became jealous of each other, quarreled, fought, and fell by mutual wounds. After this fatal catastrophe the angels in waiting finally moved the holy chapel to the eminence where it now stands, and has stood for four hundred years, having lost all relish for travelling. This house or chapel moving was on a large scale what the translation of the Penates of Eneas was on a smaller scale. We have something of the same kind in a still smaller way at the present day. Sofas, under spiritual agency, prefer the ceiling to the floor for their stand-point, and tables dance a *pas seul*, and that there may

pass over a range of stupendous mountains, the tops of which are frequently above the clouds. The clouds thus resting on the tops of these mountains, emit their water, and keep the mountains forever moist. This gives rise to an innumerable range of living springs, which gush forth from the sides of these mountains, and, collecting in the rich intervales, form brooks and rivulets in abundance. Never did I see meadows so rich as these. Nor is it the meadows alone. The sides of the mountains, even their summits, are covered with not only rich verdure, but rich pasture. It is the richest grazing country in the world; and you would have been charmed with the variety of hill and valley, and the multitude of good substantial dwellers. I was in one little dairy, where they had made five thousand weight of cheese, of most excellent quality, in the course of the summer. They made me a present of one weighing sixty-six weight, full as good as your good Cheshire cheese. I breakfasted with one of these people. "I was," said he, "the first man in this town that ever planted an apple-tree or built a house. My wife was the first white woman that ever lodged in this town. Yet this year I have cut one hundred and fifty tons of excellent hay, and shall make one hundred barrels of cider." To give some idea of their manner of living, let me introduce you to the breakfast-table. We had a large table, covered with a handsome damask cloth, on which was most excellent coffee and tea, the best of sugar — but the sugar made use of with the coffee was made on their farm, from the maple-tree, as good in grain, in color, and in flavor, as any I ever saw from the West Indies — toast, bread and butter, crackers, a plate of good ham, a dish of fried trout, caught in a brook that ran by their dwelling, a plate of good cheese; a plate of honey, and a dish of broiled pigeons; and, what they are never without on the table, morning, noon, or night, I had like to have passed over — a large pitcher of cider. I said it was a land flowing with milk and honey. A gentleman told me that he had got out of one tree nine pailfuls of honey. Another told me he collected one hundred weight of honey from an old tree. The springs gushing from the sides of the mountains give the people an opportunity of bringing the water into their houses with great ease, in the manner it is conveyed from the Thames in London; and there is scarcely a house that is not thus accommodated.

The people in this country are a well-informed, sober, sensible people. Being lords of the soil, and paying little, very

Christ, and at length consecrated into a chapel, and dedicated to the Virgin. This sanctified edifice was allowed to remain in Galilee as long as that district was inhabited by Christians, but when infidels got possession of the country, a band of angels, to save it from pollution, took it in their arms, and conveyed it from Nazareth to a castle in Dalmatia. This fact might have been called in question by incredulous people, had it been performed in a secret manner, but that it might be manifest to the most short-sighted spectator, and evident to all who were not perfectly deaf as well as blind, a blaze of celestial light and a concert of divine music accompanied it during the whole journey; besides, when the angels to rest themselves set it down in a little wood near the road, the trees of the forest bowed their heads to the ground, and continued in that respectful posture as long as the sacred chapel remained there. But not having been treated with suitable respect at the castle above mentioned, the same indefatigable angels carried it over the sea, and placed it in a field belonging to a noble lady called Lauretta, from whom the chapel takes its name. This field unfortunately at that time was frequented by highwaymen and murderers, a circumstance with which the angels were undoubtedly unacquainted, when they placed it there. After they were better informed, they removed it to a high hill belonging to two brothers, where they imagined it would be perfectly secure from the dangers of robbery and assassination; but the two brothers, proprietors of the ground, being equally enamored of their new visitor, became jealous of each other, quarreled, fought, and fell by mutual wounds. After this fatal catastrophe the angels in waiting finally moved the holy chapel to the eminence where it now stands, and has stood for four hundred years, having lost all relish for travelling. This house or chapel moving was on a large scale what the translation of the Penates of Eneas was on a smaller scale. We have something of the same kind in a still smaller way at the present day. Sofas, under spiritual agency, prefer the ceiling to the floor for their stand-point, and tables dance a *pas seul*, and that there may

you were in town last Fall, how did *you* like what you then heard?" "Why," said he, "had I never heard *of* you before, I should have thought you were a Predestinarian." "And you would have thought right, my dear sir; for so indeed I am." "How," said he, "and a Universalist?" "Certainly. How can I doubt the truth of *any* testimony of our Saviour's?" "But don't you think there are many testimonies in the Word of God that do not correspond with your doctrine?" "No, indeed, I don't. If I did, I certainly would not believe either." "Well, sir, will you let me ask you a question respecting *one* passage? — where it is said, 'The Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven in flaming fire, with his holy angels, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel, who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and the glory of his power.' This cannot be true, if your plan is true." "That is," said I, "the Spirit must have told what was not true to Abraham, or to Paul. Now *I* think God was true in both places. I firmly believe both these passages, and see no contradiction in them. But you do." "I confess," said he, "I do. They cannot be both true as they are expressed." "Yes, they certainly are both true as they are *expressed.* All the families of the earth may be eternally blessed in Christ Jesus, the promised seed, according to the oath sworn to Abraham, and Jesus and his holy angels may appear in flaming fire; but surely the fire *they* appeared in, could not be *hell-fire!* But he, Jesus, shall take vengeance on them that know not God, and obey not the Gospel. The question is, what vengeance will the Saviour of the world take on them that don't know him to be their Saviour? Will it be to keep them eternally in that state of ignorance? This would be just such a vengeance as our, as their adversary, the devil, would be pleased with. But the prophet said, the day of vengeance of our God should comfort all that mourn. O no; the vengeance the Redeemer will take on all who know not God, will correspond with the promise, 'They shall all know me, from the least unto the greatest.' Again, what sort of vengeance will he discover on them that obey not the Gospel? Will it be to take care that they never shall obey the Gospel? So the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning, would wish to have it. What vengeance do you think King George would have taken on the Americans, who would not obey him?" "Why," said he, "undoubtedly he would, if he could, have *made* them obey him." "True, very true. He would

whether it was pleasing or displeasing to the Gods. From this custom has arisen the auspices of the present time, that is to say, young men and maidens who precede the newly-married couple, and although they have not consulted nor even have any faith in the songs or flight of birds, they still retain the name of this ancient custom, and are called auspices." The custom of groomsmen and bridesmaids accompanying the pair to be married to the altar, is not very different from these ancient auspices. "The women formerly took their meals with the men, but the women were seated while the men reclined on couches. This custom fell into disuse by degrees, and was confined to Gods and Goddesses, for in the hall of Jupiter in the Capitol, where three couches and three tables were set, the image of Jupiter reclined while Juno and Minerva were seated. When the Romans held their festivals in the hall of the Capitol, this order was observed, because a departure from it might have displeased the Gods, for the example of Goddesses is of more authority than that of women, but in private life it was not observed, as it did not seem polite or courteous to the women. Women remaining widows, refusing again to enter into wedlock, were looked upon as faithful and honorable, while those who had had several husbands were considered incontinent and intemperate, though the marriage was legitimate, as the law did not forbid second marriages." The subject of divorce is treated of, and we have the name of the first Roman who put away his wife, and the period in which it took place. "Divorces between man and wife were unheard of till the year 520 after the foundation of Rome. The first who repudiated his wife was Spurius Carvilius, on the ground that she was barren. However he might have felt justified in this, he was censured for it, for it was alleged that the desire of having children should not supersede fidelity to the marriage vow." "The use of wine in times past was unknown among the Roman women, lest they should fall into dishonor; for excess in wine easily leads to illicit desires and impure love. But as a recompense for this abstinence, their husbands permitted them to wear gold

at the promise through unbelief.' He would still, I am persuaded, be strong in faith, giving glory unto God."

Thus chatted I with Mr. Pickle, and thus I chat with my friend. I know you will bear with me. However, I sometimes think I do wrong in thus harping on this subject. There are many things we perfectly agree in: why not dwell on these? The truth is, I am sorry we differ in anything, not because I like *you* the less, but in the fear that you will cool in your regards for me. This, I fancy, is the reason I am continually pressing on you these arguments, merely as my reasons for the hope that is in me, and an apology for my differing from you. But I should at least wait till you *ask* me a reason for my hope. Many has been the time I have resolved to say no more to you on the subject. But what, alas! are my resolutions? Nothing. I must write as I talk, that is, as I feel. And what subject is so likely to make me feel as the subject of the grace, the free, the unbounded grace of God?

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You were good enough to give me, when I had the felicity of being in your company, one of the hymn-books published by Mr. Rippon. I beg leave to present you one published for the use of my congregation. You will see we have taken the truth wherever we could find it. And I have never seen a collection of hymns where something may not be found which the church above and below may not cheerfully join in. And I am not a little pleased, I do assure you, to find in each of the authors you will find in this collection, the sentiments of the heart of your friend so clearly expressed. . . . .

Your ever affectionate friend, and devoted brother and servant, JOHN MURRAY.

P. S. It is with inexpressible pleasure I am enabled once more to chat with my beloved friend in this way. I am, for some reason, spared a little longer. I was enabled last Sunday once more to visit my friends in the meeting, and with great delight dwelt on the consideration of the law of life, from Romans viii. 2: "For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death." Transporting thought! May we never lose sight of this royal law!

I am still weak and low; but I am "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might." How blessed are we, whose God is the Lord,—in this Lord, "our dwelling-place in all

whether it was pleasing or displeasing to the Gods. From this custom has arisen the auspices of the present time, that is to say, young men and maidens who precede the newly-married couple, and although they have not consulted nor even have any faith in the songs or flight of birds, they still retain the name of this ancient custom, and are called auspices." The custom of groomsmen and bridesmaids accompanying the pair to be married to the altar, is not very different from these ancient auspices. "The women formerly took their meals with the men, but the women were seated while the men reclined on couches. This custom fell into disuse by degrees, and was confined to Gods and Goddesses, for in the hall of Jupiter in the Capitol, where three couches and three tables were set, the image of Jupiter reclined while Juno and Minerva were seated. When the Romans held their festivals in the hall of the Capitol, this order was observed, because a departure from it might have displeased the Gods, for the example of Goddesses is of more authority than that of women, but in private life it was not observed, as it did not seem polite or courteous to the women. Women remaining widows, refusing again to enter into wedlock, were looked upon as faithful and honorable, while those who had had several husbands were considered incontinent and intemperate, though the marriage was legitimate, as the law did not forbid second marriages." The subject of divorce is treated of, and we have the name of the first Roman who put away his wife, and the period in which it took place. "Divorces between man and wife were unheard of till the year 520 after the foundation of Rome. The first who repudiated his wife was Spurius Carvilius, on the ground that she was barren. However he might have felt justified in this, he was censured for it, for it was alleged that the desire of having children should not supersede fidelity to the marriage vow." "The use of wine in times past was unknown among the Roman women, lest they should fall into dishonor; for excess in wine easily leads to illicit desires and impure love. But as a recompense for this abstinence, their husbands permitted them to wear gold

our better country, where, if there is a Power above us as able as he is willing, we shall assuredly meet, to part no more forever. O transporting thought! O cheering consideration!

"Yet a season, and, we know,
Happy entrance shall be given —
All our sorrows left below,
And earth exchanged for heaven."

But, circumstanced as we are, how much are we indebted to Divine goodness for the inestimable privilege we now enjoy! In *this* way you can, in this way you do, "breathe over the Atlantic wave your warm wishes and most fervent prayers" — so warm that they warm us on their arrival. We thank you — most cordially we thank you. Believe us, they shall be returned with equal warmth. I am happy that my little family is thus present before you. I am happy we can be present in spirit, and that once a year, at least, we can tell each other so.

* * * * * * * * * *

I have, with great pleasure, presented your regards to as many of the friends you mentioned as were capable of receiving them; but, alas! my friend, the dearest and nearest of them all sleep in the narrow house. The venerable Winthrop Sargent and lady are no more. These best of parents have left us, and you may form some judgment of the mind of the dear author of the letters on the occasion, by the letters themselves. Never did parents feel a stronger affection for a child than they did for her: never did child feel a stronger attachment to parents than did Mrs. Murray to them. And never did parents more deserve it. The one, her mother, died in July: her father in December. The death of these parental friends has made a considerable change in our circumstances. Mrs. Murray was very much attached to Gloucester while they lived, and I was therefore not at liberty to leave the place, though many things conspired to make me willing. The accumulating infirmities from year to year rendered journeying more difficult, and in the winter it was very painful. I must then give up one or the other of the places I labored in — Gloucester, or Boston. The former was small, and rendered still smaller by deaths and removals: the latter a large place, and continually increasing. I am now, therefore, a resident in this town wholly. I have a very large and very commodious meeting-house, that will accommodate fifteen hundred hearers. I believe I have as large a congregation as

the old bachelors complained against so equitable an ordinance, they were still further punished, and reproved with such words as these: 'As by the law of nature you have been brought into being, so by the same law you have received the power to continue it to others. Your parents in nourishing you have made it obligatory in you to nourish your children and successors, if you have any virtue. Moreover, fortune has given you length of years, in which you might have had a family, but you have disregarded the gift, and allowed your days to pass away without being known as husbands and fathers. Retire, and loosen the strings of your purse, that you have so tightly drawn together through stinginess, and pay enough to maintain a number of those who shall come after you.'"

The reverence and honor with which the virtuous were treated are illustrated by many examples, one of which must serve as a specimen of the whole. "What honor was accorded in Athens to Xenocrates, a learned and virtuous man, when he approached the altar to give his testimony! It was customary in that city, after having testified, to swear upon the altar that the truth had been spoken. When Xenocrates presented himself before the altar, all the judges rose from their seats and told him that he need not swear, for they had sufficient confidence in his veracity without an oath. Indeed, the judges had a higher estimation of the virtue of Xenocrates than they had of themselves; for after the witnesses had sworn, they themselves swore that they would give a just judgment without favor to either party."

An instance of youthful heroism must conclude our notice of this old book. A chapter is devoted to similar examples, but we select the present one as being of a Joan of Arc character, and illustrating the remark with which we commenced this review, that the Present often reflects the Past in history. "At the river Tiber, Clelia, a youthful maiden, dared an act worthy of renown. While she and other maidens had been delivered by the Romans as hostages to Porsenna, the general of the Tuscans who was besieging Rome, she escaped during the night, unperceived by the guards, crossed the river Tiber,

vation, we will, if you please, lay aside the doctrines of Baptisms, &c., and determine to know nothing but Christ, and him crucified, and say with the poet —

> "This, only this, is all my plea,
> I the chief of sinners am,
> But Jesus died for me."

Who is he that condemneth? It is that Christ, who is the only ordained Judge, that died to save them who, as sinners, were ordained to death, therefrom; and who, having died for their sins, rose again for their justification.

You suppose it would give me pleasure if, in any future period, I should find you a Universalist. Yes, it would, indeed; and, suffer me to add, I find *now* a sincere pleasure in the assurance that I shall. You certainly will be found among the *every creature* who will ascribe glory to Him that sitteth on the throne. You certainly will, some time or other, believe the same truth that Abraham believed, and that God not only spake to him, but by the mouths of all his holy prophets from the beginning of the world. You certainly will, some time or other, be found among the *all*, of whom it is written, They shall be taught of God; and, so taught, shall know him, from the least to the greatest. But all who know him are Universalists now; for they know him to be the Christ, the Saviour of the *world* — the Bread of God which cometh down from heaven, giving life unto the *world*. They now know, though the world don't, that Jesus is the life of the world. They know that the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, as witnessed by the law and the prophets, even the righteousness of God, which is by the faith of Jesus Christ, unto all and upon all them that believe. The *Partialists* (I take the liberty to distinguish all who are not Universalists by this appellation) talk of the righteousness of God, but not without the law. Whoever presumes to preach this righteousness of God as the free gift of God to all men, without their obedience to the law, are reproached as heretics, as antinomians. The Partialists are like the Jews that James told Paul of: "Thou seest how many of the Jews there are who believe, and yet are zealous for the law." They are like the preachers who taught the people that Paul preached to, that except they kept the law, notwithstanding all that Jesus, as made under the law, did for them, they could not be saved. Hence they are continually confining all the grace of the Gospel to the believer; and by the believer

the old bachelors complained against so equitable an ordinance, they were still further punished, and reproved with such words as these: 'As by the law of nature you have been brought into being, so by the same law you have received the power to continue it to others. Your parents in nourishing you have made it obligatory in you to nourish your children and successors, if you have any virtue. Moreover, fortune has given you length of years, in which you might have had a family, but you have disregarded the gift, and allowed your days to pass away without being known as husbands and fathers. Retire, and loosen the strings of your purse, that you have so tightly drawn together through stinginess, and pay enough to maintain a number of those who shall come after you.'"

The reverence and honor with which the virtuous were treated are illustrated by many examples, one of which must serve as a specimen of the whole. "What honor was accorded in Athens to Xenocrates, a learned and virtuous man, when he approached the altar to give his testimony! It was customary in that city, after having testified, to swear upon the altar that the truth had been spoken. When Xenocrates presented himself before the altar, all the judges rose from their seats and told him that he need not swear, for they had sufficient confidence in his veracity without an oath. Indeed, the judges had a higher estimation of the virtue of Xenocrates than they had of themselves; for after the witnesses had sworn, they themselves swore that they would give a just judgment without favor to either party."

An instance of youthful heroism must conclude our notice of this old book. A chapter is devoted to similar examples, but we select the present one as being of a Joan of Arc character, and illustrating the remark with which we commenced this review, that the Present often reflects the Past in history. "At the river Tiber, Clelia, a youthful maiden, dared an act worthy of renown. While she and other maidens had been delivered by the Romans as hostages to Porsenna, the general of the Tuscans who was besieging Rome, she escaped during the night, unperceived by the guards, crossed the river Tiber,

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and not only saved her country from the fear of the enemy, but from the siege itself. O gentle heart, thou simple and tender virgin, how much has thy prowess surpassed that of man!"

Valerius the Great was a "woman's rights" man. Of the biography of Valerius but little is known; but to be judged by his writing, it is fair to conclude that he had great and good qualities. In the exercise of his religion he might be accused of narrow views, but it seems he acted conscientiously. In his politics his veneration for ancient authority and devotion to his prince and government may have given an illiberal complexion to his character, but both his religion and politics are to be measured by the Roman standard at the period when he flourished. When he does not come in contact with the prejudices connected with these principles, he takes high moral ground, and utters many ennobling sentiments, and considering how loosely titles have been bestowed in all ages, it is only fair to suppose that he justly merited to be styled, VALERIUS THE GREAT.

GENERAL REVIEW.

"*Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication.*"

THIS is the title of a work of two volumes by Charles Darwin, from the press of Orange Judd & Co., of New York. Whatever may be thought of the author's speculations, there can be but one opinion regarding the patience, diligence, accuracy and extent of his own observations; or of the skill with which he marshals the observations of others to the procession of his argument. The intelligent reader may think his theory too hastily constructed, and without solid foundation; but he must admit that he has accumulated a vast number of facts of great practical value to farmers, gardeners, florists, and all engaged in raising stock, or in the cultivation of plants.

Still, it is well known that the work is written in the interest of that Development theory to which the name of Darwin has been given in consideration of his eminent services in its support; and it is on this point that its interest chiefly centres. The eager curiosity felt in regard to the questions involved in the discussion, may be judged by the fact that the first English edition was exhausted in a single week — the present reprint being from the second English edition, with special additions by the author, and a preface by Prof. Gray, of Harvard College.

The reader speedily discovers that the author is thoroughly committed to his theory of development, and sees every thing, and shapes every fact, with an eye single to that. The first volume, embracing the history of the most important domestic animals and plants, chiefly has this in view, such particulars being put into the foreground as will best subserve the argument; while the second enters elaborately into all the questions of variation and transmutation of species by crossing, inherited peculiarities or qualities, return to ancestral forms after long departure through many side paths, causes of sterility after certain crosses or variations, influence of external conditions, improvement, deterioration, &c., &c. The argument is conducted with great skill and ingenuity, but there is so much of the inferential and hypothetical elements involved in the conclusions as to lift the whole subject into the realms of pure speculation, as regards the main question.

So far as concerns that main question, the "Origin of Species," the following statement of Prof. Huxley's views sets forth the insufficiency of the facts and observations thus far gathered, and of the arguments employed in its support. He inclines to the opinion that the variations of animal types are not so much the result of "the struggle for life," or of "natural selection," as of external condition and influences:

"Much observation must be made, and much evidence accumulated, before we can see our way to a theory of transmutation of species. The only valid, though cardinal, objection to such a theory, is the want of evidence that a change of the kind inferred really takes place, and that so little proof of it is forthcoming, in spite of the attention which has, for many years, been anxiously directed to the subject. The nearly allied species tantalize us by a certain flexibility of type, and by their near approach to one another; but they seem rigidly to abstain from the boundary lines; and the variations that take place seem to have no special reference to an approximation to those lines, but rather to a certain power of accommodation to exter-

and curious bibliophilist. In rummaging the bookstall, he sometimes alights on rare volumes, and finds in their pages a treasure of old things.

A volume of the works of VALERIUS THE GREAT, published at Rouen in Normandy, in the year 1615, is one of this character, and its perusal has suggested the foregoing remarks. It is interesting not only for the records it contains of what took place in Roman history, but as showing that much which passes at present as modern, is but a revised edition of a much earlier date. The book to which reference is here made is a duodecimo of seven hundred pages, in large print. It professes to be the complete works of Valerius in ten books, but it is the opinion of classical scholars that it is rather *excerpta* or extracts from his works, and that the larger volumes have perished. The present volume would make at this day a common-sized octavo, in fair type, of three hundred pages, and as each book does not contain more than a moderate-sized chapter, there is some ground for the supposition of the learned that this book is but the synopsis of a larger work.

Who Valerius was, will be best gathered from the preface, which professes to be an abridged account of his life, of which the following is a literal translation:

"Valerius the Great, a Roman citizen and a gentleman, devoted his earliest years, and a great portion of his more advanced life, to the cultivation of letters and the fine arts. Having attained the age of manhood, he applied himself to the use of arms, became a soldier for some time, and made the voyage of Asia with Sextus Pompeius. On his return, under the impression that he could as much benefit his country by his pen as by his sword, he resumed his studies, which had been interrupted by his desire of seeing service in war, and he resolved to write the actions and sayings worthy of record both of the Romans and foreign nations. This is his own confession on the subject. He accomplished the task happily, and with great reputation to himself. This took place when Tiberius was emperor, and it was during his reign that he composed this history, in which, in his exordium, he invokes the divinity. Indeed, when the Roman emperors

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not only the hope and safety of the country, but to whom, by the common consent of men and of the gods, the rule of the land and of the sea has been committed, and under whose providential care the virtues about which I am to speak are so benignantly sustained and encouraged, and the vices so vigorously corrected and punished! If the ancient orators in their opening addresses implored the aid of the mighty and gracious Jupiter, if the excellent poets in their exordium invoked some divinity, surely it becomes one so humble as myself to implore your favor; for while with respect to other divinities it is granted that we believe what we have heard, yet inasmuch as we have not seen them, we are not sure of the fact; but with respect to your deification, which equals the splendor of your grandfather Julius Cæsar, and your father Augustus, there can be no question. We behold it certified before our eyes. Indeed, their splendor has largely increased the brilliancy of our sacrifices. While we have accepted foreign Gods, we alone have the Cæsars; they alone are the production of the Roman soil, and since I have proposed to commence with the service of the Gods, I will briefly speak of the manner and conditions therein observed."

The first chapter, as stated in the dedication, opens with an account of the reverence and honors paid to the Gods, and is as follows:

"Our ancestors required that the sacrifices solemnized on certain days should be made known and explained to the people by the priests ordained for that purpose; while in the enterprises of war and other high matters of state, the consuls or other chief men should have recourse to divinations, that they might ascertain whether the issue would be favorable or adverse. The prophecies and vaticinations of Apollo were set forth in the book of the Sibyls and religious women, and were placed in the temple of Apollo. When it was a question whether the Gods were angry, the cause thereof was sought by examining the entrails of the beasts offered in sacrifice. If they were unsound or mutilated, that was a sign of the divine displeasure; if, on the contrary, they were sound and whole, then the Gods were appeased. To appease the Gods, solemn sacrifices were held, for by such sacrifices the threatened evil against the Roman republic was averted, such as lightning, tempest, and other fearful signs. The priests were held to the most rigid observances in their ceremonies,

opinion that modifications of animal type, occurring in nature, are more likely to be the result of external influences operating upon successive generations, influencing their development, their growth, and their maturity, than of 'natural selection,' and 'the struggle for existence.'

The slight variability of animal types through long periods, the clear manner in which many of them are worked out from one another, and which increasing investigation seems to render more and more apparent, make the prospect of proving that they are educed from one another by any of the hitherto supposed processes grow more and more distant, and the feeling arises that there must be some other law at work which has escaped our detection."

To this testimony of the man of science may be added the observations, extensive and long continued, of a well-known traveller, Du Chaillu. He made special efforts to ascertain the truth of certain legends among the Negro tribes bearing on the Development theory; and instituted diligent inquiries for the purpose of ascertaining whether there was evidence that any kind of a creature existed, or ever had existed, which constituted a connecting link between man and the gorilla — but he utterly failed to find anything approaching to evidence that our ancestors belonged to the monkey tribe. His testimony in the case follows:

"In the country which I explored, the gorilla and all the other man-like apes peculiar to Africa are found roaming in the same forests that are inhabited by the natives, and both live in proximity to each other. While there, I have inquired patiently and thoroughly about the strange stories told by the natives of the apes carrying away people — stories which, I must admit, they firmly believe, as they believe any of the other stories mentioned in my narrative about women giving birth to elephants, crocodiles, hippopotami, antelopes, &c., &c. But when called to give me proof, it turned out that the stories had always happened to some persons who had died — some former ancestress. Still, the stories have been handed from generation to generation, impressing themselves deeply on the superstitious minds of the natives, who delight in the mystical and wonderful.

Particularly, when I resided among the tribes found in the mountains near the banks of the Ovenga River, where the gorilla is rather more common than anywhere else, I searched in vain if an intermediate race, or rather several intermediate races or links between the natives and the gorilla could be found; and I must say here, that I made those inquiries conscientiously, with the sole view of bringing before science the facts which I might collect. But I have searched in vain. I found not a single being, young or old, who could show any intermediate link between man and the gorilla, which would cer-

though on a much smaller scale, yet conceived in the same spirit with the burning of the great Alexandrian library.

"In the time of our ancestors, Publius Cornelius and Bebius Pamphilius were very jealous in guarding religion. In the fields of Lucius Petilius certain laborers having dug deeper than customary in cultivating the soil, found two cases, on one of which there was an inscription saying that within reposed the body of Numa Pompilius, on the other an inscription saying it contained books. There were found on opening it seven Latin books of the true doctrine, and the same number of Greek ones treating solely on morals. The Greek books, although they made no mention of dispensing with religion, Petilius, civil lieutenant, by authority of the senate, was ordered to burn in presence of the people. The ancient Romans would never suffer anything in their city that might divert the minds of the people from the service of the Gods."

The next paragraph contains a record of the severe punishment inflicted on a person for revealing certain secrets. Whether Morgan ever went over the Falls of Niagara for revealing the secrets of masonry, is to this day a disputed question, for ocular demonstration apart from those who committed the murder, if it ever was committed, is wanting to establish the fact. No such doubt involves the case herein recited, for it was publicly ordered, executed and justified.

"King Tarquin ordered Marcus Tullius to be sewn up in the skin of a wolf, and thrown into the sea, because, being corrupted by a bribe, he permitted Petronius to transcribe the book containing the secrets of the civil sacrifices which had been confided to his keeping. And this kind of punishment was afterwards inflicted on all those who murdered their father or mother. Surely this was a just law, for an offence against the parents or the Gods merited an equal penalty."

The author, in his great zeal for an established or state religion, passes from Rome to Greece to find authority to confirm him in his favorite doctrine, and heads a section in these words: "Of the religion of the Athenians who would not even suffer the philosophers to dwell among them when they irrev-

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too cold for winter, whereas a cloth one will be suitable for both seasons. We must take care of Jupiter.' When he was in Epidaurus he took away the golden beard of Esculapius, affirming that it was not becoming for him to wear a beard when his father Apollo had not any. In the same way he took forcible possession of the gold and silver tables in the temples, on which were inscribed, after the manner of the Greeks, that they were dedicated to the name of the good Gods. Having read the inscription, he remarked, 'he was very sensible of the goodness of the Gods.' In the same way he took the standards and the golden statues that the chiefs of the army had placed in the temples after a victory over their enemies, even to the goblets and crowns which were in the hands of the images. As it appeared as if the images with extended arms presented them to men, he said, 'he did not take them, but as they were offered it was but reasonable to accept them, and that it would be very foolish not to receive gifts from those from whom we were every day asking similar favors.' "

After the commission of so much sacrilege, the author seems somewhat at fault to account for the failure of the tyrant meeting deserved punishment; and while he adopted the modern sentiment,

"God's mill grinds slow, but fine,"

it would seem that in this case it gound the wrong person, or, to continue the metaphor, the wrong grist was poured into the hopper. "Now, although this tyrant was not punished during his life according to his deserts, nevertheless the punishment was inflicted after his death in the dishonor of his son. Of a truth, if the anger of God is slow in taking vengeance of sin, it makes amends for its long delay in the heavier retribution."

Presages constitute a chapter of themselves, and they are spoken of as things not to be slightly passed over. They were not to be considered as simple fancies, or merely matters of chance, but they had a direct and absolute reality, and were to be esteemed as among the orderings of Providence. They were not to be classed with things regarded at the present day as superstitious, but were indications of events certain

and, as a consequence, very many of the Western manuscripts after that date were written on parchments which had already been once used. Often, in consequence of the difficulty of removing the ancient ink, the old writing appears, dim and faded, but still legible below the more recent writing. And the great labor of the paleographer is to decipher the letters and characters thus blurred and partially concealed by the later record.

The difficulties with which he has to contend are many and various. Sometimes the original paper is turned upside down, or the new writing crosses the old at right angles, or while the old is in columns, the new runs across the entire page. And what is still worse, sometimes the same parchment has been written over three, or even four times, which, of course, increases the labor immensely. One of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum is a palimpsest of portions of the Gospel of John in Greek, which has been twice written over in Syriac. Then the characters are of different sizes, and the lines of the letters of the later writing are often identical with those of the old, completely concealing a half or the whole of a letter of the original writing. And finally, it must be remembered that in the most ancient, and therefore most valuable, Biblical MSS., neither syllables, words nor sentences are separated, and there are no stops nor marks to show the beginning or end of a paragaaph. Each page or column is one long, undivided word from top to bottom, all written in *uncials*, or capital letters.

The name best known in Palimpsest literature is that of Cardinal Angelo Maio, who was made superintendent of the Ambrosian Library at Milan in 1813, and of the Vatican Library at Rome in 1819. He has been the greatest discoverer, and the most successful editor, of Palimpsest manuscripts, among all those engaged in the work. While in the Ambrosian Library, he brought out, from underneath more recent writings, several orations of Cicero, and a number of unknown orations of Cornelius Fronto, letters of the Emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, fragments of eight orations by Aurelius Symmachus, and orations by various other orators and lawyers. Beside these, he discovered below some later ecclesiastical records several lost books of the "Roman Antiquities" by Dionysius Halicarnassus, which, singularly enough, completed that portion of Livy's History which was lost in the missing books xi–xvi.; also fragments of a Gothic translation of Paul's Epistles; and an entire work by Julius Valerius, *Res Gestæ Alexandri*, being

If Rome was saved by geese, which are proverbially silly birds, we have an instance recorded in which Marius was saved by an ass, which in zoölogy is in the same category intellectually. "When Marius was the enemy of Rome, it was decreed by the senate that he should be imprisoned in the house of a woman named Fennia, at Minturnum. While a prisoner there he saw an ass which refused the provender offered him, and went down to the water. Marius, in seeing this, thought Divine Providence was directing him how to act. A few troops having come to his succor, he ordered them to conduct him to the sea-coast, when, entering a vessel, he was conveyed to Africa, and thus escaped Sylla, who remained conqueror."

Prodigies and wonderful manifestations foretelling future events form the subject of another chapter. The author says, "An account of prodigies, whether prognosticating evil or good, is not foreign to our purpose." Some are so unmistakable that there could be no hesitation in acting upon them. Of this character was the prodigy that accompanied the birth of Servius Tullus. "While quite an infant in his cradle, the persons in the house saw a flame shining around his head. At this wonderful display, Tanaquil, the wife of King Tarquin the elder, was filled with wonder, and had him brought up as if he were her own child. She even raised him to royal dignity, although he was the son of a female domestic." Another prodigy far more remarkable is the following: "In the army of Xerxes which he had assembled for war against Greece, there is nothing more certain than that a mare gave birth to a hare. This production showed beforehand the issue of the great preparations Xerxes had made which numbered four thousand two hundred vessels and a million of troops. After having covered the sea with his ships, and the land with his infantry, like a timid and fleet hare he was forced to return to his kingdom in fear." This same Xerxes had another wonderful sign. "When at supper, having passed Mount Athos near Ida before the destruction of Athens, as he was deliberating to invest Lacedemonia, when the wine was poured

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his sickness, yet by the advice of his physician he quitted it and thus saved his life, for the soldiers of Brutus did not fail to sack it, thinking that he was within."

Miracles have a chapter about as long as that of dreams, and the author gives us his definition of the word: "Certain marvellous things occur to men in the day time when they are awake, as well as in dreams by night, and inasmuch as it is difficult to know from whence they proceed, or for what cause they have been enacted, they are rightly called miracles." Two examples must suffice on this point.

"I will now narrate an astonishing event, the certainty and full knowledge of which were witnessed to by those persons who lived at the time it took place, and which has been handed down from age to age, and finally inscribed in the books of noble writers. Eneas, after the fire which destroyed Troy, carried his household gods into Italy, and placed them in Lavinia. Afterwards they were translated into the city of Alba by his son Ascanius, by whom that city was built. But great was the astonishment when they were found in their former place in the temple at Lavinia. While it was thought this removal was effected by human intervention, they were carried back to the city of Alba; but at a second translation they themselves declared their wishes, that they were not pleased with Alba, and of their own accord had returned to Lavinia. I am well aware respecting these matters, such as visions, apparitions, translations, and the oivces of the immortal Gods, things known and seen of mortals, that there are some who will doubt their truth; but as they are not spoken of as novelties, but recorded by various writers, whatever may be believed on this subject, it is sufficient for me not to regard as fables and frivolities what appear in the writings of excellent authorities."

We have at a later date a similar translation of material substances, and on equally well attested authorities. The *casa sancta*, or the holy chapel of Loretto, is the case in point. This chapel was originally a small house at Nazareth, inhabited by the Virgin Mary, in which she was saluted by the angel, and where she brought up our Saviour. After their deaths it was held in great veneration by all the faithful in

Codex Sinaiticus, is well known to the religious world. The following description of the Ephrem MS. may interest the reader:

"The volume of which this palimpsest was a part was curiously put together. Fragments were taken from other manuscripts of different ages, the only consideration being that of securing pages of the same size. These were bound into one complete copy of the Gospels. Thus parts of several manuscripts, written by different hands in successive centuries, were mixed together in one volume. There were thick vellum leaves, fifteen centuries old, with others of thin white vellum of a more ancient date, written in two columns in a large hand, these being commingled with others of various styles and ages. The only purpose kept in view seems to have been that of forming a volume which should contain the four Gospels entire."

Another of the important discoveries of Maio was a portion of the Gothic Version of the Old Testament. In 1817, while engaged in his explorations among the manuscripts of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, he was surprised to find traces of Gothic writing in two palimpsests he was examining. On further investigation he discovered, to his amazement and delight, fragments of the Old Testsment in Gothic, not a single line of which, prior to this, was known to be in existence. The original writing, over which had been written the plays of Plautus, and two of Seneca's tragedies, proved to be portions of the books of Kings, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

This discovery of fragments of the Books of Kings is particularly gratifying, as it shows how uncertain the foundation on which Scepticism rests its frequent scoffs and assumptions. The reader of Gibbon will remember his "solemn sneer" respecting the omission of the Books of Kings from the Gothic version by Ulphilas, Bishop of the Goths — "he *prudently suppressed* the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and sanguinary spirit of the Barbarians"![1] The discovery of Maio shows how dangerous it is, in these days of researches among manuscripts and libraries, in tombs and Catacombs, together with excavations amid the ruins of Pompeii, Jerusalem, Rome, Nineveh, Babylon, and Egypt, bringing something

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be no doubt of the spiritual agency, the accompanying music comes from unseen hands. This spirit influence, by due cultivation, may perhaps by-and-by become as powerful and subservient as the Loretto angels, and lend a helping hand in removing houses, which in the newly-settled towns in the West would be exceedingly accommodating, duly appreciated, and gratefully acknowledged.

The author thus closes the chapter on miracles: "As we have spoken of things out of the customary order of events, we will now speak of a serpent mentioned by Livy in his elegant style of writing. He says that, 'in Africa there was a serpent in the river Bragada of such magnitude that it prevented Regulus from making use of the river. It had already swallowed up many of the soldiers, and driven off and crushed others in its folds. As it was proof against darts, it was assailed by machines that hurled against it huge stones. Indeed, this reptile occasioned greater alarm and fear to the Roman armies than Carthage itself. The banks of the river were watered with its blood, and the region around was so infected with its poisonous breath that the Romans had to remove their camp from the vicinity.' The author above named says, the skin of the serpent was brought to Rome, and measured one hundred and twenty feet in length."

The second book introduces the reader to the customs and manners of the Romans and other nations, and is thus prefaced: "Having in the preceding chapters treated of the forces of nature and the miracles which take place in it, we proceed to describe the customs and manners of life worthy of note in our city of Rome, as well as among other nations. It is indeed requisite to know how the present reign began in which we live so happily under our gracious prince and emperor, Tiberius, so that the examples of our superiors by their authority may bring forth fruit for the manners of the Present." Marriage claims the first notice in which the following particulars will be found interesting: "Our ancestors never undertook anything of a public or private character without first consulting the birds, as from them they ascertained

Codex Sinaiticus, is well known to the religious world. The following description of the Ephrem MS. may interest the reader:

"The volume of which this palimpsest was a part was curiously put together. Fragments were taken from other manuscripts of different ages, the only consideration being that of securing pages of the same size. These were bound into one complete copy of the Gospels. Thus parts of several manuscripts, written by different hands in successive centuries, were mixed together in one volume. There were thick vellum leaves, fifteen centuries old, with others of thin white vellum of a more ancient date, written in two columns in a large hand, these being commingled with others of various styles and ages. The only purpose kept in view seems to have been that of forming a volume which should contain the four Gospels entire."

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chains, and clothe themselves in scarlet robes and all varieties of silk; and further to heighten their charms, they used a certain lixivious preparation to give their hair a golden color. In those days adultery was not feared, for concupiscence and carnal desire were guarded against by a reciprocal and mutual sense of shame." It would be interesting to know, as comparing the Past with the Present, how much silk composed the dress, and whether they followed the Homeric pattern of

"Troy's proud dames, whose garments sweep the ground."

We read in the French journals that it is the fashion to powder the hair with gold dust, and to adorn it with artificial butterflies, fireflies, beetles, &c. It is not given us to know from any existing records whether the ancients had arrived at this entomological ornamentation, but golden hair has always been in high estimation, and the translator of the epigramatic Martial gives us the following:

"The golden hair that Galla wears
Is hers. Who would have thought it?
She swears 'tis hers, and true she swears,
For I know where she bought it."

It may be presumed that the lady Galla would not give her money for anything that was not most admired in the court of fashion. It is painful to record what fidelity to history obliges us to do in the paragraph that follows. While the author has given such honorable and frequent testimony to the virtue of the Roman women, their escutcheon is disfigured by a foul blot. "There is no mention made of poisoning in Rome, and the thing was not recognized in the Roman laws and customs till the year 170, when a chambermaid gave information of certain women who had poisoned their husbands, for which crime they were decapitated." Bachelors, under the Roman *regime*, had a hard time, as will be seen from the following account:

"When Camillus and Posthumus were censors, they punished with fine those who through avarice had arrived at an advanced age without marrying, and made them disburse a large sum, which was placed in the public treasury. And if

small, reported to have been written by Origen, are known to have survived to our time. It is possible, when all the Vatican treasures are examined, and the Eastern Monasteries are thoroughly searched, that many of these lost works may be found preserved in palimpsests, beneath some idle saint's legend of the middle ages. And the same remark may be made in regard to Clement of Alexandria, Didymus the Blind, Gregory Nyssen, and many other ancient Universalists and church celebrities. The Coptic Convents of Egypt, Nitria of the Libyan Desert, the neighborhood of the Dead Sea, Mount Athos, and other localities, are rich in Manuscripts yet to be brought to light, and with the promise of a glorious harvest, of which the Codex Sinaiticus is, perhaps, a kind of first fruits.

Religious World.

The progress of religious freedom in *Austria* is very rapid and encouraging. The new laws lately sanctioned by the Emperor put an end to exclusive clerical jurisdiction in marriages; and if a priest throws any illegal obstacles in the way of marriage, the parties can be married by the civil magistrate. In education, the State is supreme; and the Jesuits and Catholic authorities are placed on a level with Protestants in regard to the religious training of children. The members of one church cannot be forced to contribute to the maintenance of any other church, unless by private contract. No religious community can refuse a decent burial to those of another church where there is no burial-place of that religious confession This of course excites the wrath of the Pope, who has issued an *Allocution* in which he insults the Government of Austria, pronounces the laws "odious and abominable," in "flagrant contradiction with the doctrines of the Catholic Church, its venerable rights, its authority and divine institution, and *with natural right itself*"!

This has called forth a severe rebuke from the Prime Minister, Von Beust, who protests against "the incomprehensible and unjustifiable interference of the Pope in the province of home legislation, and throwing upon the Court of Rome the responsibility of having aroused religious passions which may create a deplorable conflict." The municipal council of Vienna, and the people of Hungary, respond to this by denouncing the pretensions of the Papal Government to interfere in the domestic legislation of an independent foreign power.

and not only saved her country from the fear of the enemy, but from the siege itself. O gentle heart, thou simple and tender virgin, how much has thy prowess surpassed that of man!"

Valerius the Great was a "woman's rights" man. Of the biography of Valerius but little is known; but to be judged by his writing, it is fair to conclude that he had great and good qualities. In the exercise of his religion he might be accused of narrow views, but it seems he acted conscientiously. In his politics his veneration for ancient authority and devotion to his prince and government may have given an illiberal complexion to his character, but both his religion and politics are to be measured by the Roman standard at the period when he flourished. When he does not come in contact with the prejudices connected with these principles, he takes high moral ground, and utters many ennobling sentiments, and considering how loosely titles have been bestowed in all ages, it is only fair to suppose that he justly merited to be styled, VALERIUS THE GREAT.

GENERAL REVIEW.

"*Variation of Animals and Plants Under Domestication.*"

THIS is the title of a work of two volumes by Charles Darwin, from the press of Orange Judd & Co., of New York. Whatever may be thought of the author's speculations, there can be but one opinion regarding the patience, diligence, accuracy and extent of his own observations; or of the skill with which he marshals the observations of others to the procession of his argument. The intelligent reader may think his theory too hastily constructed, and without solid foundation; but he must admit that he has accumulated a vast number of facts of great practical value to farmers, gardeners, florists, and all engaged in raising stock, or in the cultivation of plants.

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nal circumstances, necessary for the preservation of the species. We find considerable varieties in the human species. We do not yet clearly know how to connect even these with one another, or with a common origin. Some of these are more, some less, allied to the monkey; but between the lowest of the human and the highest of the monkey there is a gap, the width of which will be differently estimated by different persons, but so wide that there has never been any doubt to which side any specimen should be referred, Now, if the one has been transmuted from the other, how comes it that the series has been broken, and the connecting links ceased to exist? The conditions are still favorable to the existence of the man, and to the existence of the monkey; why are they not still favorable to existence of the species that have connected the one with the other? We may wonder, not only that the traces of species in past time are not forthcoming, but that the species are not now living.

Moreover, we do not know that any conceivable conditions, operating through any number of years, will bring the gorilla or chimpanzee one whit nearer to man, would give them a foot more capable of bearing the body erect, a brain more capable of conceiving ideas, or a larynx more capable of communicating them. He did not think that much direct assistance has been given, by the theory of natural selection based upon the struggle for existence, ably propounded and ably defended as it has been; it has dispersed some of the fallacies and false objections which beset the idea of transmutation of species, and has so placed the question in a fairer position for discussion; but it reminds us forcibly of some of the real difficulties and objections. Though artificial selection may do much to modify species, it is rather by producing varieties than by drawing away very far from the original stock. To the former there seems no limit; but the latter is stopped by the increasing unproductiveness and unhealthiness of the individuals, by the susceptibility to disease, and the tendency to revert to the original type. So that increasing departure requires greatly increasing care; and we do not know that any amount of care and time would be sufficient to produce what might fairly be called a new species.

The bringing about any marked change, by nature's selection, is shown to be very hard of proof, and has opposed to its probability the fact that the members of a species which are most unlike have the greatest tendency to pair, and are the most fertile; so that we have here, in addition to the ready reversion of modified breeds to the original stock, a law by which the growth or perpetuation of peculiarities is prevented, and a constancy given to the characters of the species. This law is more striking from its contrast with the bar that exists to the pairing of different species, and the infertility of hybrids. Within a given range, dissimilarity promotes fertility. Beyond that range, it is incompatible with it.

These, and other considerations, have always inclined him to the

before it was known to the Greeks, that solved questions in algebra and mathematics before these engaged the brain of Western Europe. This system of religion permeated every order and class of native society. The day that the missionaries of the Cross overturned the tremendous citadel of Brahminism, they would have done a work revealing the power of Christianity such as never was witnessed in the world before, and, as far as man could see, never could be seen again. To overtake this work would require the Church of Christ in all its branches to unite and to gird on all its armor; and missionary societies and churches must set about it in a very different manner from what had hitherto been the case. His conviction was that every system, except the education system, had utterly failed of destroying Hindooism, and that this system alone, whatever converts they might make, or whatever missionaries they might ordain, was calculated, above all others, to destroy the fortress of Hindooism."

— *Charles Scribner & Co.*, so well known in the literary and theological world for their enterprise and good judgment, and for the valuable and instructive character of their numerous publications, are now planning a series of volumes which will specially interest ministers and Christian scholars, and command their patronage. They propose, under the name of *Select Theological and Philosophical Library*, to make up a choice selection of works, substantially text books of the most complete and reliable character, in all the leading departments of theology and philosophy adapted to the wants of students and ministers of all denominations. Some of the works will be translated from other languages; others will be based on the treatises of well-known, competent and learned English and American authors. The aim will be to furnish at least one standard work on each distinct subject of theology or philosophy. Among the subjects comprehended in this library will be Biblical Theology; Introduction to the Old and New Testament; Tischendorf's latest edition of the Greek New Testament; The Canon; Biblical Psychology; Compends of Church History and of the History of Doctrines; Encyclopedia of Theology; Collections of the Creeds and Symbols of the Church; various works on the Fathers, and other kindred topics. The whole will make up the most valuable library of the kind in the English language.

tainly be found if man had come from the ape. I suppose from these facts we must come to the conclusion that man belongs to a distinct family from that of the ape. The first belongs to the order Bimana, and the latter to the other quadrumanous series."

The opinion we have expressed above respecting the inconclusive and speculative character of the argument in support of the Darwinian theory, is confirmed by the following from Bischoff, an eminent German writer on Anatomy, whose authority on the points involved is held in great respect. It is taken from that instructive work, the "Annual of Scientific Discovery;" in which, also, we find a very significant statement touching the difference between the human and gorilla brain, viz: that instead of the gorilla brain being more like that of man than the brain of the common ape, it is less so; and, in fact, belongs to the lowest order of the anthropoid apes, since it does not cover the cerebellum. But to the extract:

"The assertion that the anthropoid apes are the direct ancestors of man, even if it were supported by any evidence, is contrary to the Darwinian theory rightly understood, for the extinction of the parent form is the direct consequence of the development of an improved form. The problem of organic nature is twofold. 1. The origin of the simplest original forms. 2. The causes and the mode of their operation, by which more perfect forms were developed. A great defect of Darwin's theory is, that he leaves the first question unanswered. Admitting that certain organisms must have been created, what right has he to say that other organisms may not have been created at intervals, even to the present time? Another defect of the Darwinian theory is, that no cause is assigned for the commencement of variation. To say that organisms have at once the power of transmitting peculiarities by inheritance, and of spontaneously originating varieties, is a contradiction in terms. . . . . All that can be considered as proved is, that certain forms have been produced by variation from other forms. The facts warrant no general deduction."

Palimpsest Literature.

For the benefit of the general reader we may be permitted to say that *Palimpsest* means a manuscript which has been twice, or even three times, written over; the first writing having been wiped or washed out in order to give place to another. After the seventh century papyrus, or Egyptian paper, which up to this period was abundant and cheap, almost disappeared from the markets of Europe;

before it was known to the Greeks, that solved questions in algebra and mathematics before these engaged the brain of Western Europe. This system of religion permeated every order and class of native society. The day that the missionaries of the Cross overturned the tremendous citadel of Brahminism, they would have done a work revealing the power of Christianity such as never was witnessed in the world before, and, as far as man could see, never could be seen again. To overtake this work would require the Church of Christ in all its branches to unite and to gird on all its armor; and missionary societies and churches must set about it in a very different manner from what had hitherto been the case. His conviction was that every system, except the education system, had utterly failed of destroying Hindooism, and that this system alone, whatever converts they might make, or whatever missionaries they might ordain, was calculated, above all others, to destroy the fortress of Hindooism."

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an account of the campaigns of Alexander; and two books of *Chronicorum Canonum*, by Eusebius, the Historian of the early Church.

But the discovery which probably excited the most lively interest in the literary world, and added most to his fame, was Cicero's *De Republica*. This work had for ages disappeared, and the loss of it had always been deeply lamented by scholars. It had been sought for in every country, and at great expense. Cardinal Pole spent two thousand crowns in the search for it without success, and Petrarch, Poggio and others had made equally vain search; and yet it was one of the first fruits of Maio's researches in the Vatican Library, the writing above the *De Republica* being Augustine's Commentaries on the Psalms.

One of the greatest achievements in the way of deciphering a Palimpsest, was that of Tischendorf's restoration of the *Codex Ephremi*. We give below his own account:

"There was in Paris one of the three most important Greek MSS. of the New Testament known to exist at that time, 1841. Written in the fifth century, and revised, with many additions, in the seventh and ninth, it had been washed off in the twelfth century, in order that upon the parchment thus purified and newly calendered, the works of an old church father, of the name of Ephraim, might be transcribed. Traces of the ancient defaced writing were first observed in the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth, the Swiss theologian, Wetstein, had made an attempt to read it. But at the close of this century, the Parisian librarian informed the theologian, Griesbach, of Jena, that it was impossible for the eye of a mortal to decipher, with any degree of exactness, a writing which six centuries before had been so thoroughly destroyed. In the year 1834, the French government attempted by chemical means to restore the legibility of the faded letters. But a theologian of Leipsic, who was at that time in Paris, proved so unsuccessful in his attempt to read it, that he publicly declared an edition of the text, even with the means employed by the French government, in the present condition of the manuscript, to be impracticable. Nevertheless, in the years 1841 and 1842, a success so complete attended my effort to decipher this primitive document, that I was able to discriminate perfectly the different hands which had taken part in the work."

This remarkable success, where so many had failed, brought great fame to the young scholar; and honors of every sort were bestowed by the various princes and universities of Europe. What still greater glory he has recently acquired by the discovery of the famous

2. The Layman's Breviary; or, Meditations for Every Day in the Year. From the German of Leopold Scheffer. By C. T. Brooks. Roberts Brothers.

This very beautiful and useful volume has been some time published, but it is only recently that it has come under our notice; and we have been so impressed with its excellencies, that we cannot but call attention to it. It is a mine of rich thoughts and suggestions; full of wisdom, truth and beauty; and pervaded with a truly religious and reverent spirit, which sees God and good in all things and events, great and small, joyful and sorrowful. The book deserves to be more widely known. Preachers will find in it scores of themes, and multitudinous gems wherewith to enrich their discourses. We would gladly illustrate this statement by liberal quotations, but our limits forbid. The following will show its general character and aim:

"Misfortune and good fortune are things past,
Else are they things that have not yet arrived,
And what is past is done irrevocably,—
It is a form of Nature now to man,
And only by a beauteous, holy law
It came to pass, and Nature welcomed it!
Dissatisfaction with the thing that's done,
This is what makes men miserable! content
With what is done, this is men's happiness.
What now is wise in passing through this world?
To know what Nature brings to best account,
To make of it a life, yea, festival,
As children do with snow, which, fluttering down
Silently, buries all their pleasant days.
And never hold thy life a finished thing!
Then fortune, good or bad, is not yet come,
Then life has not yet happened; 'tis to be!
Man has material yet for bliss and life
Till the last hour; even death itself is such,
Which in a godlike way pronounces good,
And blesses what is done! For sure 'twas good,
True, human, heavenly in God's beauteous world,
And in the good heart long since beautiful,"

3. From the Oak to the Olive. A Plain Record of Pleasant Travel. By Mrs. Julia Ward Howe. Lee & Shepard.

Chiefly devoted to the account of her recent visit, with her husband, to Greece, though not without some pleasing sketches of people, scenery and incidents by the way. There is an agreeable mingling of the poetical and practical in her descriptions, and though the imagination is allowed full play, it never usurps the place of judgment, or obscures her clear sight into the actual condition of things. If we had room, it would be easy to show that this is one of the most readable books of the day. The author of the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" is not likely to write anything not worth reading.

4. Where is the City? Roberts Brothers.

This is the quaint title of a book which gives the experience of one supposed to be earnestly and honestly seeking the truth; or, in other

new to light almost every day, for ignorant or wise men to indulge in sneers against the Bible.

It is curious, also, to note how, in these palimpsests, sometimes one discovery will supplement another. For example — the celebrated *Codex Argenteus*, preserved at Upsal, Sweden, contains the Gothic version of the four Gospels; but there are many portions missing, sometimes ten or twenty verses, and sometimes entire chapters. Now the *fourth* Codex Rescriptus discovered by Maio contains the very fragments of the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh chapters of Matthew missing from the Upsal manuscript.

So in the *first* Rescriptus, containing Homilies of Gregory the Great on Ezekiel, Maio discovered, underneath, the Gothic of the Epistles to the Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Titus, &c.; but in an imperfect state, many passages being lost. But the next discovery, a manuscript of one hundred and fifty-six quarto pages in vellum, contained the very fragments which were wanting in the first, and above which were written Jerome's Exposition of Isaiah.

Doubtless we may look for more valuable discoveries, when other scholars, with learning and zeal equal to Maio's, shall rise up to possess themselves of the palimpsest treasures which as yet remain untouched. And Montfaucon's statement justifies a large hope in this direction. He says, in a report to the Academy of Inscriptions, that "the greater part of the later parchment manuscripts he had seen, were written on parchment from which some former treatise had been erased."

As yet the results, especially in classical literature, have not realized the expectations of scholars. The discovery of Cicero's *De Republica* led many to believe that most of the lost treasures of antiquity might be recovered. But as yet little has been accomplished. What has been saved from the Past is small compared with what has been lost. Of all the Greek lyric poets, only Pindar remains; and of the poetesses, only a few fragments of Sappho. Out of fifty-four comedies of Aristophanes, eleven only are extant; eighteen out of the seventy-five tragedies of Euripides; and but seven of the ninety written by Eschylus. Chrysippus is reported to have written seven hundred and five volumes — not one of them has come down to our time!

And ecclesiastical literature has suffered in like manner. For example, how small a portion of the six thousand volumes, great and

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The French Liberal papers likewise comment severely on the fact that the Pope openly incites the Austrians to a violation of the laws of their country, though they are precisely the same as those already established in France, and to which Rome has assented by the Concordat. They also notice, with considerable bitterness, that Cardinal Patrizzi, when speaking of the "marvellous" intervention of Providence in favor of the Papacy, does not make the slightest allusion to the instrumentality of France in the matter.

— An *Indian* paper reports the recent occurrence of an atrocious case of suttee at Sheolee, in the Cawnpore district, by the widow of a Brahmin. The ceremony was gone through formally, and almost ostentatiously. She was escorted to the funeral pile by a procession with music, and was then and there burned to death, the torch being applied by her own son. About seventeen of the more prominent actors have been arrested, and severely dealt with. The conduct of the police seems also to be deserving of severe punishment, for although the intention to perform the suttee was known in the neighborhood some days before it was carried out, they took no steps to prevent it.

— At one of the meetings of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, Dr. Macleod, recently returned from *India*, whither he had gone with a view to inquiry into the condition and prospects of the missionary cause, was received with a most cordial welcome. In his reply to this welcome he has the following statements, which so directly confirm the views we have expressed in these pages, and which it is so necessary the Christian enterprise of our times should comprehend and act upon, that we give it place here, hoping it will help to correct some of the mistakes in method of past missionary effort. The reference is to Brahminism, which exercises such a tremendous influence on the teeming millions of that country:

"It was the most wonderful system that existed, or had existed, in the world. In coping with it they had to deal, not with a barbarous race, but a race whose very blood was the same as our own, — a race whose religion was expressed in one of the most subtle, one of the fullest, most exquisite, most accurate, and most musical languages that ever existed, — a race that had its poetry when earth was young, whose magnificent poems that still awakened the astonishment of the reader were probably as old as the days of Moses, — a race that had its philosophy during teeming centuries, that had astronomy long

is pleasant — and also for the good words with which she prefaces her introduction.

6. Plain Words on the Protestantism of To-day. Patrick Donahoe.

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"I shall now, by way of conclusion, quote a well-known fact, the consideration whereof has already shaken many Protestant consciences. There is scarcely a Catholic Priest, however limited the sphere of his action may be, who has not been called to receive into the church a dying Protestant; while there is no record whatever of a sincere Catholic who has wished to become Protestant at the moment he was summoned to appear before the tribunal of God. . . . . As for Luther — his life, after his apostacy, was that of a libertine, entirely taken with the pleasures of the table, and animal pleasures. . . . . Every one knows that ignoble prayer, written in Luther's own hand, the authenticity whereof has never been disputed, and whose conclusion runs thus: 'Good drinking and good eating; behold the surest means of being happy.' . . . . Calvin died of scarlet fever, devoured by vermin, and eaten up by an ulcerous abscess, the stench whereof drove away every person. In great misery he gave up his rascally ghost, despairing of salvation, evoking the devils from the abyss, and uttering oaths most horrible, and blasphemies most frightful."

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CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

1. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX. By Henry White. Harper & Brothers.

We welcome the multiplication of volumes showing the *animus* of Catholics in regard to heretics; which means all who dare to deny the authority of the Pope, or to reject the abominable and absurd dogmas of the Church. There is, and from the nature of her assumptions of infallibility and power, there can be no change in the position, spirit or action of the Catholic Church toward those who differ from her. What she was three hundred years ago in temper, aims and ambitions, she is to-day; and would be the same in tyranny and persecution, if she had the power.

The history of the religious wars, and of the hatreds and conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, is written with great care and fairness; and much new matter is given, drawn from documents not before used, disclosing more clearly the mixed motives of the actors, and the gradual progress to that final and fearful crime, at which the world stood aghast — the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. It is painful to read the numerous details of the horrible butchery, and the examples of individual ferocity which marked the scenes of murder in Paris and the provincial cities; but it is a lesson which the people of this country need to learn, and to remember in their religious and political action. Give the same power and impunity, and the same tragedy will be repeated in our own land. And for the power the Church is diligently striving. Look at the sudden zeal for the religious instruction of the negroes of the South! While they were slaves, and with no power at the ballot box, what did the Catholic Church care about their instruction or salvation? But now that they have *votes*, and can be *used*, what sudden and intense anxiety for their conversion!

While recounting the cruelties of the Catholic party, Mr. White, with commendable impartiality, shows that the Huguenots were sometimes provoked, by their sufferings, to retaliation; and the atrocities recorded on pages 240–242, make us blush alike for Protestantism and Humanity. This portion of the history will be new to many readers. But, on the other hand, the records of heroic constancy and voluntary martyrdom for the sake of truth, among the young and the old, men and women, in the highest and in the humblest ranks of society, are an honor to our race. And, as the author justly says, such examples of patience and firmness under torture, of self-devotion, of child-like trust in the divine promises of the Master, of obedience to conscience, and of faithfulness to duty, are fruitful for all ages. They serve to show not only that persecution is a mistake, but that the final victory is not with the successful persecutor.

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words, the kingdom of God on earth. To this end he makes the tour of the various churches, examining the doctrines and practice, the spirit and life, of each, in order to ascertain in which, if in any, Christ really dwells. He sojourns, in turn, with the Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Quakers, Swedenborgians, Spiritualists, Unitarians and Universalists; finding in all something to censure and something to approve, but in no one church satisfactory proof that it is really *the* City. The book aims to be just to the several sects reviewed, and mostly, we think, succeeds. Surely he deals fairly with the Universalists, hitting, good-naturedly, at some things among us which certainly need correction; but presenting principles and arguments in a manner as attractive as it is truthful — see pages 291–297. The allusion to Origen, and the remark, "if I were a believer in the doctrine, I would not let my left hand know of it," is rather weak talk. As if God would be so imprudent as to reveal anything which it would be the duty of the more cautious and far-seeing Israel Knight to conceal, lest it might be dangerous to good morals! Beside, we would suggest to the author that *one fact* is worth ten possibilities; and he will find, on consulting the statistics of crime, that the ranks of the criminal classes are recruited not from believers in this doctrine, but from those whose creed is shaped by the popular theology.

However, save this, we have no criticism on his treatment of us. He finds much among both Universalists and Unitarians worthy of commendation; and it is only just to say that he exposes the faults of the so-called "Evangelicals" as freely as those of the Liberals. The Baptists, Methodists, Episcopalians, and others, all have their weak points of doctrine and practice; and he finally comes to the conclusion that "every church has elements of truth and error," and that the best course for him is to be "a disciple of Christ, and a brother to every true worker for the good of his fellow-man." The book is suggestive and useful, and should be read by all those who imagine that their church holds the only gate-way opening into the Celestial City.

5. Portraits of Celebrated Women. By C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Translated from the French by H. W. Preston. Roberts Brothers.

A book we can cordially recommend to all, but especially to our lady readers. Among others sketched with equal truth and skill are Madames de Stael, Lafayette, Roland and Guizot. We have all heard of Madame de Stael and Madame Roland; but few know much of Madame Lafayette, and comparatively little is known of Madame Guizot, and others in the list, who so well deserve to be known. Miss Preston has shown good judgment in her selection from the *Portraits de Femmes*. Her readers will thank her for an introduction to women whose distinguished abilities and virtues, as well as generous culture, make their acquaintance as profitable as it

8. The Church Militant: An Address delivered before the Irenian Society of the Canton Theological School, by Rev. O. Cone, Professor of Biblical Languages and Literature.

Contains some excellent thoughts, strongly expressed, regarding the true foundation and mission of the Church, and "the great religious problem of the day — how to reach the perishing classes with the uplifting influence of the Gospel."

We might question the author's definition of a "sect," as "only an association for scientific investigation in theology." It seems to answer more exactly to the facts to say that a sect is a body of believers associated, not for the purpose of *investigating* truth, but precisely because they think they have *found* it, or, at least, all that is essential. We are not saying what "of right a sect *ought* to be," but what it really *is*. The Baptists are not associated for the purpose of *investigating* the subject of Baptism, but because they believe they have already discovered what is its true form and significance. The Unitarians are associated on the ground of having *found* the truth of the Scriptures in regard to the Divine Unity. And Universalists are united in their organization as a sect, on the ground that they have *demonstrated* the fact that the Bible teaches Universal Restoration; not on the ground that they are inquiring whether it is so, or not.

The Professor says "the multitudes keep away from the man whose primary aim is to indoctrinate them." "We must first preach Christ to the multitudes — if afterwards we can educate them in theology, it is well." But is it necessary that he who aims to indoctrinate the multitude should preach "sledge-hammer sermons"? Is not his objection rather against manner than doctrine? or does he think the world has outgrown doctrine? How can we preach Christ to the multitude without telling them who he is, what his mission is, the nature of his salvation, how it is to be secured, &c.? And is not this indoctrinating them? And how can we preach God without proclaiming his character, government and purposes in regard to mankind? And if we tell the perishing and dangerous classes, that they must love God, and they ask why, must we not give them the reason? And is not the reason the doctrine?

9. The New Testament History: with an Introduction, connecting the History of the Old and New Testaments. Edited by William Smith, LL. D. Harper & Brothers.

We heartily commend this volume to all who really wish to understand the New Testament history; and teachers of Bible Classes and Sunday Schools especially will find it a very useful and able assistant. Indeed, we know of no *one* volume, of its size, so thoroughly furnished as a help to the study of the New Testament times as this. Book I., occupying the first one hundred and seventy pages, including the excellent *Appendix* on the Jewish People, Sects, Scriptures, &c., is the best Introduction to the Gospels, for the general reader, with

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